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ABSTRACT

Findings and recommendations of two studies begun in 1968 regarding the lives of impoverished people in Camden, New Jersey are presented in this report. In the first study, factors aiding and hindering the achievement of economic independence, especially through the Work Incentive Program (WIN), of female headed households are considered. Data drawn from a three-wave panel study (1969, 1970, 1973), initiated with 438 matrifocal households and supported through Aid for Dependent Children and 102 matrifocal households supported by the earnings of the mother, are analyzed. In the second study, poverty is considered as a breakdown between family and economy and as a function of family organization in relation to participation in the economy. Data are drawn from a two-wave panel study initiated with 723 low-income men and 414 of their mates in 1973 and 1974. Recommendations are made from the WIN program and other programs engaged in the provision of work training, employment services and income maintenance. (Author/WI)

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SIX YEARS IN THE LIVES OF THE IMPOVERISHED: AN EXAMINATION OF THE WIN THESIS

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16. Abstract

This is a final report presenting findings and recommendations of two studies begun in 1968. The first is a study of factors aiding and hindering the achievement of economic independence, especially through the Work Incentive Program, of female headed households. The data are drawn from a three wave panel study (1969, 1970, 1973) initiated with 438 matrifocal households supported through AFDC and 102 matrifocal households supported by the earnings of the mother in Camden, New Jersey. The second is a study of poverty considered as a breakdown between family and economy and of family organization in relation to participation in the economy. The data from this second study are drawn from a two-wave panel study initiated with 723 low-income men and 414 of their mates in Camden in 1973 and 1974. Recommendations are offered from the WIN program and other programs engaged in the provision of work training, employment services and income maintenance.

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To Jack Newman
--from idea to action

To remedy the frequent distresses of the common people, the poor laws of England have been instituted; but it is to be feared, that though they may have alleviated a little the intensity of individual misfortune, they have spread the general evil over a much larger surface. It is a subject often started in conversation...that nowithstanding the immense sum that is annually collected for the poor in England, there is still so much distress among them. Some think the money must be embezzled, others that the church-wardens and overseers consume the greater part of it in dinners. All agree that somehow or other it must be ill-managed. But a man who sees a little below the surface of things would be very much astonished if the fact were otherwise than it is observed to be...

Thomas Robert Malthus
Population: The First Essay

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SIX YEARS IN THE LIVES OF THE IMPOVERISHED: AN EXAMINATION OF THE WIN THESIS

The Work Incentive Program, established by the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act, concentrated, primarily, on the program of Aid to Dependent Children. The study reported here examined the relation of these female-headed households to the economy. Two questions form a backdrop to the inquiry: the relation of welfare and work policy to family stability; the relation, if any, between welfare, employment, and training policies and family authority structure.

A panel of welfare and of working mothers, all heads of household, enjoying roughly the same income and living in Camden, New Jersey was selected in 1968 and interviewed in 1969, 1970, and 1973. About 70% of the respondents are black.

Dates of Interviews	Number of Interviewees	
	Welfare Mothers	Working Mothers
1969	438	102
1970	373	85
1973	291	61

The responses of the interviewees demonstrate, above all, that, despite the indignities of poverty, motherhood is fulfillment for these welfare women as it is, and has been, for women throughout the world. All of these women have been wives or mates. Yet, husbands, current or potential, are not the focus of their lives. Three quarters of the welfare and nine of ten of the working women have tried marriage but have been separated or divorced. A few are widows. Most did not remarry.

With the termination of the relationships with the fathers of their children, these women become heads of household and, potentially, welfare dependent. There

is no evidence that males abandon these homes to enable the women to improve their welfare income. Their reasons are those generally given to account for marital dissolution in American culture: their mates established another relationship and/or there were disagreements. Alcoholism or the death of the mate was mentioned in a few cases. No working mothers but some welfare mothers reported that their mates had been sent to jail, were on drugs, physically abused them, or had children by another person.

The "choice" of matrifocality on the part of these welfare and working mothers is not patterned after parental arrangements, at least, not explicitly. Some three-fourths of all these women reported that their parents were married and living together when they were six.

Their living conditions are crowded, but not extremely so. The modal apartment has four, five, or six rooms, depending more on family size than on income level. Working families have fewer children and, thus, a slightly higher per capita income. Welfare families, having more children, spend proportionately more for housing and food. Working families spend relatively more on items related to the world outside the home--on transportation and on clothing.

Welfare mothers with small children prefer, if they work, to have an adult relative, friend, or neighbor provide child care rather than a nursery or daycare center. Child care is but one of many occasions which tie these truncated households to a rather extensive kinship network. Forty five percent of the welfare and thirty five percent of the working mothers can name one or more living relatives to whom they could turn for help.

Hardly ten percent of these women are involved in neighborhood, political, or welfare rights organizations. Voting is the principal political activity. The church is the predominant community institution in which these respondents participate. Most of the respondents are native to the area. A minority are migrants from Southern states.

In 1969, the average monthly income of the sampled welfare women was $332 and of the working women $396. In 1973, after a period of currency inflation, the former had an income of $441 and the latter of $446. The income of the welfare women increased more rapidly than did that of the working women, not because of an increase in welfare payments but because of their increasing ability to supplement welfare with earned income. In 1969, welfare women received about three-fourths of their income from welfare. A bit less than half of the remainder was earned, small amounts being received from children's earnings, social security, insurance, and pension payments. Occasionally some child support payments and, here and there, some gifts were received. By 1973, their welfare payments increased slightly, and they were earning a third of their income.

Welfare abusers, those who lie to obtain welfare, misreport welfare or work income, or use the money for liquor or gambling, are judged harshly by about a third of the welfare and half of the working women. Working and associating with workers goes together. Being on welfare was not then related to an anti-work ideology as much as it was related to a pro-household or pro-motherhood ideology. Organized job training programs offer a way of crossing the boundary into the occupational economy. WIN training has an outreach aspect, drawing in some who would not otherwise find their place in the labor market. By 1973, some three-fifths of the welfare and a quarter of the working women had had contact with WIN. About a tenth of the welfare women had completed the WIN program.

A second panel study of low-income households with both an adult man and an adult woman was designed to learn how households become female-headed and how the character of family structure and family authority influences its relation to the economy. A population was selected consisting of 723 low income males in Camden, New Jersey, of whom 563 were maintaining a serious relationship with a woman. These 723 men and 414 of their mates were interviewed in 1973, and in 1974, 503 men and 214 mates were reinterviewed.

Fifty-five percent of the men and 47% of the women identify as black. About a third of each group was over thirty at the time of the interview, and about a third was in their low twenties or even younger.

About half were born in Camden County. Those who migrated to Camden arrived, typically, either with both parents or with their own mates and children, or they arrived as single adults. Almost none, including the women, came as single parents. The families became matrifocal in Camden.

About half of the "mated" respondents completed high school, a higher proportion than that of their parents. Their education and work histories are a record of paths into the skilled and unskilled labor force. Some of the women "dropped out" of school to marry and some to care for their children. Practically all the men had a full-time job after high school, usually as operatives or semi-skilled workers. Job search information for both men and their mates is largely provided by friends and relatives.

Generally, these couples agree that disabled or ill men are not expected to work. Relatively few respondents countenance withdrawal from the job market by individuals having difficulty finding a job due to discrimination or to their own lack of education or lack of will to work.

Few in this population reject the idea of women working, at least under certain conditions. Both the men and the women generally agree that a woman may work when the family needs money and the man cannot find a job. Typical earnings of the men are between $400 and $700 in the month prior to the 1973 interview. The women earned between $200 and $400. With inflation, men typically earned between $500 and $800 in the month preceding the 1974 interview. Work and income are not always regular. In 1974, about a quarter of the households received some public assistance.

About half own their own homes, and about half of the population lives in six or more rooms. Four out of five have a television. Almost half of the men individually or with their mates have a savings account, a third a checking account. A

sixth have savings bonds, and a quarter carry credit cards. Two-thirds of the men own a car, and a third own a house, though half of their cars have a book value below $900. Like most Americans, they are in debt. A third owe money to banks. As many are in debt to a finance company and department stores. One in five owes money to a doctor or a hospital. Asked how they might raise $500 quickly, half would first ask a relative and half would approach a bank.

As with matrifocal households, above, religion is the predominant center of social life--conditioning both their household and their friendship circles. Political participation is meager. Half had voted in an election in the three years before the interview.

Typically, the current relationship began during adolescence or early adulthood. About a third of the men chose women age eighteen or younger. More than half of the men want more children. Half of those not married at the time of the interview say they expect to be married in the next five years.

About one-third of the men were not with the same mates by the time of the 1974 reinterview. The stability of the man/woman relationship is a key to the stability of the relation of the family to the economy, specifically, to maintaining support of those not working in the economy. Most respondents affirm the importance of their relationship with their mates and with their children, but they do not always agree with their mates on who dominates their relationship. The rule seems to be that men have relatively more control over decisions about sexual relations and about major economic matters. Women are in charge of consumer matters, social life, and child rearing. On every measure, black families are more patriarchal than white families.

Following are a selection of the Findings and Recommendations offered in the larger report.

FINDINGS

--On the WIN Program

Husbandless mothers, in this study, may be divided on the basis of their commitment to either a traditionalist or modernizing life style. These life styles are determinants of WIN program participation, work behavior and attitudes toward the family.

Modernizing women are more likely to work in blue and white collar "modernizing" occupations. And this work promotes a modernizing life style.

Members of AFDC cohorts polarize, some attaining economic independence and others remaining dependent. The WIN program, by facilitating career development of modernizers, is enmeshed in this polarization process.

The WIN selection process is one of "negotiation" between clients and the agency.

By selecting for training the most competent and those already on their way to modernizing, the WIN agency selects for its own success. The WIN program is a rallying point for modernizers.

A large family is more of a deterrent to WIN participation than is responsibility for pre-school children.

Black AFDC women are more likely than white women to be invited to participate in WIN training in this particular study population.

Catholic blacks are more likely than Protestant blacks to be invited to participate in WIN training programs but, ultimately, are less likely to enter training.

WIN-trained mothers become more modernized, activistic, and socially mobile than do low-income working mothers who have not gone through the program.

--On Women In the Labor Force

Absence of a father depresses the children's level of achievement because it deprives them of his resources, not because it implies cultural deprivation.

Higher levels of education do not translate directly into higher levels of earning for these women. The higher earnings of the better educated result from working more rather than from higher wages.

The benefits of educational attainment for economic independence are most clearly derived when education is followed by labor force participation.

Vocational training alone does not have as much influence on later job success or earnings as does graduation from high school with a more general academic education.

Participation in the secondary sector of the labor market tends to reduce the probability that a recipient will be employed in the future.

Females with an "authentic feminine gender identity," rather than those identifying with males, are more likely to enter the labor force. These are working women in the traditional sense of the rural women working in the fields.

The sex-typing of work roles is less of a barrier to women entering the labor force than is the sex-typing of household roles. The transition to modernizing work roles for women begins with changes in family roles.

Characteristics of a woman's friends and relatives have a more immediate influence on her labor force participation than do her attitudes toward work and welfare.

Religious affiliations are the primary crucibles of economic aspects of life style of this population.

Increased involvement in work on the part of female heads-of-household has an anti-natal effect. Contrariwise, the anticipation of a larger family is associated with a decline in economic independence.

--On Men In the Labor Force

The greater their fathers' authority in the household, the more likely are the sons to advance socioeconomically. However, the greater their fathers' authority, the more likely were the daughters to be on welfare.

A small family of origin is more important than stability of that family in generating work and income for sons among young whites. Family stability is more significant than size of family for young blacks.

The major factor generating success, employment, and income for whites is the father's occupation, while it is education for blacks.

--On Families

Among men, delay of marriage and particularly delay of fatherhood are conducive to socioeconomic success. Adolescent and common law marriages, nearly always fertile, are the most enduring the women in this study population form.

Women who enter their first serious relationship before age eighteen as compared with those beginning later have a stronger commitment to bearing and rearing children. Eventually, they will bear and rear larger families.

Women who marry early report more marital conflict in general, and in particular, more fighting over adultery, more sexual problems, and more problems with drugs and alcohol. The termination of adolescent relations is more likely to be accompanied by quarreling and violence than is the termination of relations initiated later.

No case was discovered in which family dissolution was traced to the possibility of increased welfare income for the female head-of-household.

Black and Puerto Rican households are more patriarchal in social decision making than white households.

Patriarchal authority in family social decisions is associated with reduced participation by both mates in political and other forms of community life and with concentration on family life. Matriarchal family organization emerges as the mates' attention is drawn to the wide arena of community life.

The greater the significance of the family for the male, the more the tendency toward patriarchal authority in the domain of instrumental decisions.

Family expenditure budgets reflect life styles through their choices of goods and services. Traditionally oriented families invest more heavily in items relevant to family and home life. Modernizing families spend more for items relating them to activities in the outside world.

Household energy consumption increases as familial relations, interactions focused around the home, become more diversified--a social complexity factor.

Household energy consumption is decreased to the extent that social discipline is imposed upon the household--a normative factor.

Budgetary commitment to transportation is proportionately higher for working than for welfare households.

--On the Context of Policy

Welfare recipients do not constitute a "community" but are an aggregate of several social types. Three types of impoverished people may be distinguished according to social institutional source of their misfortune:

1. Social outcasts, for whom economic success is but one of an array of forms of social participation not easily available to them. Their social banishment is a result of their being placed outside the regular social stratification system of society;

2. Unemployed proletarians, ordinarily employed workers who, because of economic conditions, regional shifts in industry, or technological change, are displaced from the labor force. Their impoverishment is traceable to a mechanism of the social system of production;

3. Abandoned dependents. Typically, one or a few members of a family engage in economic activity and distribute their income to children, the elderly, or the disabled, who are bound to them. These dependents become visible to society when the family transfer system is interrupted.

Poverty, manifest in lack of resources, is often but one facet of a failure of families to participate in the political and religious as well as the economic life of the society.

The term poverty, used to cover all these situations, becomes less a scientific than an ideological term. Rather than offering a diagnosis of a social ill, it is a rallying cry to the national conscience, a symbol around which diverse governmental programs serving diverse populations are coordinated and controlled.

Work versus homemaking for women may offer a false choice.

Manpower policy needs tailoring for women workers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

--For the WIN Program

WIN program effectiveness may be increased by 1) realizing that its AFDC problem is due more to the expulsion of a population from society's stratification system and a breakdown of the family transfer system than a failure of the social system of production, and by 2) adapting program elements for the four classes of welfare women--the incompetent, the adjusted traditionalist, the temporary traditionalist, and the modernizer.

Rehabilitation programs should be developed within the WIN structure and extended to cover all "incompetent" welfare mothers.

Family service programs are needed for "adjusted traditionalists."

Work training efforts of WIN should concentrate on the "temporary traditionalists" in transition to modernization.

Jobs should be available to "modernizers" and with government subsidy or in public service when required.

Voluntary deferrment from WIN and similar work training programs should be granted nearly automatically in the case of husbandless mothers with four or more children.

--For AFDC and Other Populations

The benefits of labor are not limited to welfare mothers and should be extended to middle class and other low-income women.

Programs in domestic management, consumer education and protection, family planning, and family life and vocational education as well as child care should not be limited to low-income matrifocal families.

Children above fourteen in supported families should be scheduled for work training and job placement during summers and/or after they terminate regular schooling.

Support cottage industry.

Extend the "voucher" programs to additional people and purposes such as the purchase of clothing.

Day care should be provided to mothers who want to work even if their occupational status is not high enough to cover the costs. The rationale for day care must be that the program is beneficial to children and that the mother's employment can contribute to her own and her children's personal growth.

Federally sponsored child-care centers should not be preferred over locally sponsored ones.

Some adjusted traditionalists might offer their homes as small neighborhood child care centers for the children of working women.

Public agencies that upgrade the employment and occupational status of the mother in intact families should at the same time upgrade the employment and occuaptional status of the father.

The Employment and Training Administration should concentrate on facilitating provision of work training by private vendors or by prospective employers rather than on maintaining its own training programs.

It is not sufficient to increase the skill level of the unemployed recipients. Wider socialization policies should be pursued in order to increase the attractiveness of these recipients to employers.

Individuals with no social and kinship networks should receive special services which help them develop networks.

Generally, from the perspective of the economy, adolescent marriage and childbearing should be discouraged. But, where serious relationships are formed, their stability should be safeguarded.

Training and welfare programs should include efforts to facilitate family planning among adolescent couples.

Employment and welfare policies should consider social arrangements in the households and in the work places that affect energy consumption.

Employment and welfare policy must be developed in tandem with a national energy policy and the appropriate organizational mechanisms established for doing this.

Transportation serving low-income areas should receive a special subsidy to enable it to maintain appropriately frequent service with reasonable fares, connecting the population with places of employment.

<u>—For the Long Range</u>

Select a limited sector of the outcast population as a focus of efforts to develop "community," multi-faceted participation by households in economic, political, religious, healing, educational, family, etc. activities. Such a com-

munity may be developed around an industry as a focus of employment and training efforts. By concentrating on a single industrial sector, a set of linked occupations, which link their incumbents, could be developed. Transportation, perhaps motor transportation in particular, may be a candidate industry.

The government should establish a long-range planning office to consider some of these issues.

—The Analyses and Reports

The analyses upon which these findings and recommendations rest are documented in eleven volumes--one an interpretive essay, "Community Through Industry," five under the heading of "Studies in Matrifocality" and five more under the heading of "Studies in Family and Economy." These studies are listed in the Appendix to the final report.

WORDS OF CAUTION

A word of caution--this study is more wide ranging than most studies of the welfare population and of work training programs. Nevertheless, policy designers must supplement the findings presented here with additional information on the substance of life in these populations such as that which sensitive field workers might describe; information on the household economies, on educational facilities, on child-care facilities, and more information about family life than is found in this report. Needless to say, the present report says almost nothing about the contextual conditions -- about labor markets, about the national economy, about race relations...and, the authors have tried to restrain their value-based and political judgments--something that policy designers cannot do.

Another caution: the findings and recommendations are presented as discrete statements. Most are relevant for the population segments studied. A few are relevant to wide categories of the unemployed. Any attempt to implement the recommendations as discrete policies will lead to disappointment. The statements

are not meaningful when abstracted from the cohesive context of community. The first step is to reconstruct community for this population. Only within such a community could one believe that the instrumental acts called for here could produce their anticipated outcomes.

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That the project was accomplished at all is due to the vision of Jack Newman of the Department of Labor, to whom this final report is dedicated. He monitored our work from its inception in 1968 and has been a constant guide, translating the abstract ideas of an academic community for the world of policy so that, ultimately, they may assist impoverished families throughout our land to become more self-sustaining.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
May 1978

Samuel Z. Klausner

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APPENDIX

THE STUDY POPULATIONS
WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS

Government, welfare, employment and training programs have been designed to reduce the dependence of individuals, and their households, upon transfer payments by enabling them to become self-sustaining. The Work Incentive Program, established by the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act, concentrated, primarily, on the growing program of Aid to Dependent Children. The study reported here examined the relation between the female-headed, or matrifocal, household and the economy. Its purpose is to test some of the ideas on which the program is based and to recommend improvements in that program. Two questions form a backdrop to the inquiry: the relation of welfare and work policy to family stability; the influence, if any, of policy on family authority structure.

The study was initiated in 1968 with the selection of a panel of welfare and of working mothers, heads of household, enjoying roughly the same income and living in Camden, New Jersey. Welfare mothers were selected at random from the rolls of the recipients of Aid For Dependent Children in 1969. Working mothers were located at work. All had children but no male regularly resident with them. Members of this panel were interviewed in 1969, 1970, and 1973. The following table shows the number interviewed and reinterviewed in each wave.

		Number of Interviewees	
		Welfare Mothers	Working Mothers
Dates of Interviews	1969	438	102
	1970	373	85
	1973	291	61

The classification of welfare and working women follows their status in 1969. By 1973, some had changed their status from welfare to work. Some working mothers

had become dependent on welfare. One aim of our study was to account for that change.

A description of some external characteristics of this population may be gleaned from the responses of the interviewees. While the study was framed in terms of the stability of the parental dyad, it is the relation of mothers to children which is the heart of the matter for the respondents. These mothers, struggling as they are to maintain their children, support an anti-contraceptionist position. Phrasing it in the religious language familiar to this population, some two thirds of the welfare and a quarter of the working mothers believe that artificial birth control might prevent their salvation. This is not the opinion of devout Catholics, but of women who, overwhelmingly, are Baptists and Methodists and who lived in a Northeast metropolis in 1973. The message is of the significance of children in their lives, not only of raising and having, but also of bearing children. Despite the indignities of poverty, motherhood is fulfillment for these welfare women as it is, and has been, for women throughout the world. This interpretation is borne out in the deed. Better than half the welfare and a quarter to a third of the working women had a child before the age of 18.

All of these women have been wives or mates. Yet, husbands, current or potential, are not the focus of their lives. Three quarters of the welfare and nine of ten of the working women have tried marriage but have been separated or divorced. A few are widows. Most did not remarry. Two thirds of these women have had but one "serious" relationship with a man, the relationship which produced their children. One in six of the welfare and one in four of the working women had three or more such relationships. A few report as many as four or five.

How do these women live? What is their life style? What is it about their relationships with men that might help in understanding how they become female heads-of-household? What are their personalities like? What are their family backgrounds?

In what ways and to what degree are they in the society outside of the household? How do they look upon work and government welfare, training and employment programs? This study investigated each of these.

Their living conditions are crowded, but not extremely so. The modal apartment has four, five, or six rooms, depending more on family size than on income level. Working families have fewer children and tend to live under slightly less crowded conditions. Their per capita income is somewhat higher. Verbal culture, as represented by magazines or books, is not prominent in these homes. The graphic arts find a place in the working women's homes, and their homes are slightly more likely to be carpeted than those of the welfare mothers. Television sets are ubiquitous. The welfare families, having more children, spend proportionately more for housing and for food. Working families spend relatively more on items related to the world outside the home--on transportation and on clothing.

A third of the welfare households have children who need care and a few have dependent elderly. Welfare mothers with small children prefer, if they work, to have an adult relative, friend, or neighbor provide child care rather than a nursery or daycare center. Child care is but one of many occasions which tie these truncated households to a kinship network. Both working and welfare mothers are embedded in a bilateral kinship network, involving both their maternal and paternal lines as well as the families of their siblings--but, by and large, not the kinship network of the fathers of their children--unless they are still living with them. Forty five percent of the welfare and thirty five percent of the working mothers can designate forty one or more living relatives. For almost every category of relative, welfare mothers cited more of them than did working mothers. About half of the respondents, though not living in their parental homes, were in contact with their fathers, and about sixty percent were in contact with their mothers. The family networks of welfare mothers, relative to those of working mothers, have more cases of welfare dependency.

These women tend to have friendship and neighborhood networks as well. Working women have relatively more friends out of the neighborhood, suggesting friendships based on interests as well as locale. About half of the welfare and a quarter of the working mothers say that they can depend on no friends, no neighbor, no boss, no teacher, no minister.

Hardly ten percent of these women are involved in neighborhood, political, or welfare rights organizations. Voting is the principal political activity. The church is the predominant community institution in which these respondents participate. In 1969, nine out of ten reported themselves to be church goers, about a fifth are Catholic, two-thirds Baptist, and a fifth Methodist. Welfare mothers are slightly more likely than working mothers to belong to Pentecostal churches, such as the Apostolic Church, the Church of God in Christ, or Holiness sects. Almost all attend church in order to worship, but a good number also meet friends, attend Bible classes, and practice with the choir. For a few it is a place of healing. Nine out of ten affirm a belief in salvation, but they differ on the behaviors and attitudes which might influence their chances of salvation. As cited earlier, two-thirds of the welfare, but only a quarter of the working mothers, see artificial birth control as an obstacle to salvation.

Better than half still see their present or past mate or spouse. The termination of their relationships with the fathers of their children is key to their assuming the responsibility of heads of household, to their kin networks being restricted to the consanguineal and, in many cases, to their welfare dependency. There was no evidence that males abandoned these homes in order to enable the women to improve their welfare income. The reasons given for ending the relationships followed those generally accounting for marital dissolution in American culture: their mates established another relationship and/or there are general disagreements. Alcoholism or the death of the mate was mentioned in a few cases. No working mothers but some

welfare mothers reported that their mates had been sent to jail, were on drugs, physically abused them, or had children by another person.

What do we know about the family and social backgrounds of welfare and working mothers which might predict their adult choices between work and welfare? About seventy percent are black. Most are native to the area. A minority are migrants from Southern states. Welfare and working women differ in their educational attainments. A quarter of the welfare, but over half of the working women finished high school. About a quarter were children in one or two child families and another quarter were raised in families with nine or more children.

Is their "choice" of matrifocality patterned after parental arrangements? No, at least not explicitly. Some three-fourths of all these women reported that their parents were married and living together when they were six. In a tenth of the cases, one parent was deceased. The single parent household gained in importance as they entered adolescence. Few of the respondents were raised in welfare assisted homes (assistance was, of course, less widespread two decades ago) or were raised in an institution. Eight of ten working and seven of ten of the welfare mothers' childhood homes were supported, primarily, by their fathers.

How do the work histories and work attitudes of welfare and working mothers compare? The working women were, by definition, employed at the time of their first interview. Some of the welfare women, too, worked part-time. Only about a quarter considered themselves among the unemployed.

In 1969, the average monthly income of the sampled welfare women was $332 and of the working women $396. In 1973, after a period of currency inflation, the former had an income of $441 and the latter of $446. The income of the welfare women increased more rapidly than did that of the working women, not because of an increase in welfare payments but because of their increasing ability to supplement welfare with earned income. In 1969, welfare women received about three-fourths of

their income from welfare. A bit less than half of the remainder was earned, small amounts being received from children's earnings, social security, insurance, and pension payments. Occasionally some child support payments and, here and there, some gifts were received. By 1973, their welfare payments increased slightly, and they were earning a third of their income. About half of the welfare and working women found their jobs through friends or relatives. A few found jobs through employment agencies, a job training program, or from newspapers. About two-thirds of the black women believed their color is held against them when they seek work.

Both welfare and working women are concerned to achieve. Working women, however, have an interest in achieving within the economy, while welfare women prefer to be known for the quality of their childrearing and homemaking.

Welfare abusers, those who lie to obtain welfare, misreport welfare or work income, or use the money for liquor or gambling, are judged harshly by about a third of the welfare and half of the working women. The decision to accept welfare is a function of responsibility for childcare and inability to find work at a particular time. Those who cannot accept an image of themselves as dependent on public support and who have strict standards governing receipt of welfare are more likely to be working for their income. About half of the welfare and a third of the working women say their health is, at most, fair, but not so bad as to preclude working. About one welfare woman in six is precluded by low intelligence from all but the simplest of jobs.

The social milieu also influences women toward work or toward welfare dependency. In 1969, some three out of five welfare as compared with one of three working women reported having friends on welfare. Working and associating with workers goes together. Most of the women agree that work is to be valued for its own sake, as a place to find friends and as a source of feelings of importance. In 1969, most also believed that they could find work if they sought it. Thus, being on welfare was not

then related to an anti-work ideology as much as it was related to a pro-household or pro-motherhood ideology.

What changes occurred in their work and income over the four years between the first and the third interviews? Some respondents moved from welfare and work status. Others increased their dependence on welfare. In 1969, welfare families earned about a sixth of their total income. By 1973, they were, on the average, earning almost a third. In 1969, the working mothers obtained four-fifths of their income from earnings and none from welfare. By 1973, these same women were earning about seven-tenths and were dependent on welfare for about a sixth of their income. Movement out of the welfare system was about equal to that into the welfare system in this particular population during these particular years.

Organized job training programs offer a way of crossing the boundary into the occupational economy. WIN training has an outreach aspect, drawing in some who would not otherwise find their place in the labor market. Besides WIN job training, a number of these women were trained by the Opportunities Industrialization Center, Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, or the Manpower Development and Training Program.

By 1973, some three-fifths of the welfare and a quarter of the working women had had contact with WIN. About a tenth of the welfare women had completed the WIN program.

In completing the analysis of these matrifocal welfare and working households, two central questions emerge: How do these households become matrifocal? On what does maintenance of the link between household and economy, for both matrifocal and complete families, depend? Not everyone in any society works for a living. Some members of the society work directly in manufacturing, trade, commerce, or the provision of services. Others enjoy profits and rents and others receive transfer payments, whether from welfare, pension, insurance, or gifts. Single individuals

may consume or save all of their earnings. More typically, however, a worker shares resources with others who are dependent on him or her. Mothers who are recipients of Aid To Dependent Children have lost or never had either a direct or indirect connection to the work economy. The community, by its transfer payments to her, substitutes as her economic provider without entering into a family relationship with her.

NUCLEAR FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

A second panel study of households with both an adult man and an adult woman was designed to examine the characteristics of the family structure which affect the likelihood of its stability and the way its members are linked to the economy. The structure of authority, whether patriarchal or matriarchal, in relation to family stability and economic independence was of special concern. The initial study population consisted of 723 low income males in Camden, New Jersey of whom 563 were maintaining a serious relationship with a woman. These men and 414 of their mates were interviewed in 1973. In 1974, 503 of these men and 214 mates were reinterviewed. About three-quarters of these "mated" women are married to the men.

A few descriptive facts about this population are available from their responses. Fifty-five percent of the men and 47% of the women identify as black, most of the others being white, a few are Puerto Rican, a few Oriental or American Indian (i.e., forty seven percent of the couples in the first interview are black. Few interracial marriages appear in this population). About a third of each group was over thirty at the time of the interview, and about a third in their low twenties or even younger.

The interviewees, like low-income Camden in general, are relatively residentially stable, about half having been born in Camden County. Nine out of ten of their parents were married and living together when they were small, and about a third were

one of seven or more children. Those who migrated to Camden arrived, typically, either with both parents or with their own mates and children, or they arrived as single adults. Almost none, including the women, came as single parents. Matrifocal families did not come to New Jersey to improve their welfare income. The families became matrifocal in Camden.

The fathers of the respondents were quite young when they started their families. One in twelve of the fathers had a child by the age of eighteen, and better than half by the age of twenty-six. A few of the families were broken before the respondent was six. Some two-thirds of the absent fathers visited rather regularly. One in four respondents was not in a complete family by adolescence. An extended family often cushioned the effects of these instabilities. Maternal and paternal relatives of both men and their mates were traced back to the grandparents and laterally to first cousins. Two-thirds of the respondents had a living father and three-quarters a living mother at the time of the first interview. In all, two of three male and three of four female respondents could identify thirty or more living relatives. At the other extreme, a third of the men and a quarter of the women were unable to cite any relatives outside their household on whom they could depend for help. Some respondents, as children, attached themselves to a woman other than their natural mother, often a maternal grandmother or an aunt. While eight out of ten of the natural mothers worked at some time, only about two-thirds of the women to whom the respondent felt closest were in the labor force. These were, primarily, in service occupations. About half designated a man other than their natural father as the man they felt closest to while growing up. A few said they were closest to a brother, and the remainder were not close to any man. The homes were, on the whole, father supported. Mothers contributed to the income of about a third of the homes on a more or less regular basis. The income provided by both fathers and mothers tended to be from a job rather than from welfare, social security, or a pension.

By the time respondents reached their eighteenth birthday, only about half of their parents were still together, one out of four having separated or divorced. About half of the absent fathers maintained contact with their adolescent children. About a quarter were deceased. As time progressed, fathers not present in the household took a less active role in the economic and emotional support of the family.

About half of the "mated" respondents completed high school, a higher proportion than that of their parents. Their education and work histories are a record of paths into the skilled and unskilled labor force. Some of the women "dropped out" of school to marry and some to care for their child. Practically all the men had a full-time job after high school, usually as operatives or semi-skilled workers. Job search information for both men and their mates is largely provided by friends and relatives.

What do they think about the obligation to work? Generally, these couples agree that disabled or ill men are not expected to work. Relatively few respondents countenance withdrawal from the job market by individuals having difficulty finding a job due to discrimination or to their own lack of education or lack of will to work.

Few in this population reject the idea of women working, at least under certain conditions. Both the men and women generally agree that a woman may work when the family needs money and the man cannot find a job. Typical earnings of the men are between $400 and $700 in the month prior to the 1973 interview. The women earned between $200 and $400. With inflation, men typically earned between $500 and $800 in the month preceding the 1974 interview. Work and income are not always regular. In 1974, about a quarter of the men received some public assistance.

What about their styles as consumers of material goods? About half own their own homes, and about half of the population lives in six or more rooms. This relatively low-income population has succeeded in assembling some of the material possessions of middle class life. Four out of five have a television. Almost half of the men individually or with their mates have a savings account, a third a checking

account. A sixth have savings bonds, and a quarter carry credit cards. Many are property owners. Two-thirds of the men own a car, and a third own a house, though half of their cars have a book value below $900. Like most Americans, they are in debt. A third owe money to banks. As many are in debt to a finance company and department stores. One in five owes money to a doctor or a hospital. Asked how they might raise $500 quickly, half would first ask a relative and half would approach a bank.

As with matrifocal households, above, religion is the predominant center of social life--conditioning both their household and their friendship circles. All but an insignificant number of their parents were religiously affiliated when these respondents were children. Today, five out of six of the male respondents and eleven out of twelve of their mates claim to belong to an organized religion. Church-going is primarily for worship, but some say they go to engage in Bible study or meet friends there as well. A third of the respondents, men and women, believe their religion does not approve of divorce.

Political participation is meager. A few participate in political groups or in fraternal organizations, though half had voted in an election in the three years before the interview, a few more of the men than of the mates.

What might all of this mean for their family lives? To assess family attitudes respondents were shown a picture of a family group or, more precisely, a picture of a man, woman, and child, and asked to tell a story about it. Practically half the respondents identified the three persons as a family. The woman was drawn in such a way as to appear pregnant. A third of the stories mentioned pregnancy, most reporting it factually, indicating neither pleasure nor displeasure at the thought of the new arrival.

Half the respondents, men and women, had not had a serious relationship prior to the current one. One in four men and one in ten of the women report having had

three or more serious relationships by the time of the first interview. Typically, the current relationship began during adolescence or early adulthood. About a third of the "mated" men chose women age eighteen or younger. More than half of the men want more children. Most of the men feel their mates could not get along emotionally without them, and two-thirds of the men affirm that being a mate is important to them. Half of those not married at the time of the interview say they expect to be married in the next five years.

About one-third of the men and mates did not remain together over the year 1973-74. The study was designed to seek out the roots of this change. The stability of the man/woman relationship is a key to the stability of the relation of the family to the economy, specifically, to maintaining support of those not working in the economy. Most respondents affirm the importance of their relationship with their mates and with their children, but they do not always agree with their mates on the character of their relationship. Women are a bit more likely than their men to believe that women are decision makers. On every measure, black families are more patriarchal than white families. The rule in both black and white families seems to be that men have relatively more control over decisions about sexual relations and about major economic matters. Women are in charge of consumer matters, social life, and child rearing. About half of the men and mates have fights involving yelling or throwing things. One in four couples have such fights at least once a month.

Why, in the opinion of the respondents, do men in general abandon their families? One in five men and a third of the women blame the restrictions of family life. A few believe that inability to support their families, a sense that their women do not appreciate them, or feeling that they have little place in their families leads to abandonment. Dislike of raising children was rejected explicitly as a reason for male disenchantment with family life.

THE ANALYSIS

Findings and recommendations growing out of the observations described above are offered in the following pages. The presentation will be schematic--a finding followed by a comment; a recommendation followed by a comment. The first findings, and then the first recommendations apply directly to the operations of the Work Incentive Program. WIN operations derive from policies which, it is hoped, will help impoverished families toward economic independence. These policies, in turn, rest upon our ideas about welfare families and the ways they participate in the economy. The following findings are relevant to these underlying ideas.

The analyses upon which these findings and recommendations rest are documented in eleven volumes--one an interpretive essay, "Community Through Industry," five under the heading of "Studies in Matrifocality" and five more under the heading of "Studies in Family and Economy." These studies are listed in the Appendix to this final report.

A word of caution--this study is more wide ranging than most studies of the welfare population and of work training programs. Nevertheless, policy designers must supplement the findings presented here with a good deal of additional information, information on the intimate substance of life in these populations such as sensitive field workers might describe; information on the household economies, on educational facilities, on child care facilities, and even more information about family life than could be studied in this project. Needless to say, the present report says almost nothing about the contextual conditions--about labor markets, about the national economy, about race relations...and, the authors have tried to restrain their value-based and political judgments--something that policy designers cannot do.

Another caution: the findings and recommendations are presented as discrete statements. Most are relevant for the population segments studied. A few are relevant to wide categories of the unemployed. Any attempt to implement the recommendations as discrete policies will lead to disappointment. The statements are not

meaningful when abstracted from the cohesive context of community. The first step is to reconstruct community for this population. Only within such a community could one believe that the instrumental acts called for here could produce their anticipated outcomes. The findings headed "Contextual Considerations for Policy Design" offer these cautions.

These are the families, some stable, some unstable. Such is their work and income. The analytic task is now to explain the interplay between these two sets of human relations: the relations of family and the relations of work.

THE WIN PROGRAM

Finding: Traditional and modernizing life styles are determinants of WIN program participation, work behavior and attitudes toward the family on the part of low income husbandless mothers.

Comment: Husbandless mothers in this study may be divided on the basis of their commitment to either a traditionalist or a modernizing life style. A traditionalist mother feels obligated, principally, to home and family. Her household expenditure budget emphasizes internal family needs. She expects to be supported in virtue of her position as a woman and as a mother. When income is not available through family transfers or through a husband, welfare is accepted as an appropriate substitute. The social relations and activities in which she engages to obtain income, granted to her on the basis of need and position, reinforce her traditionalist cultural pattern. In contrast, a mother committed to a modernizing life style sees herself as responsible for the economic provision and protection of her children. The modernizing tendency is reinforced through the discipline of job requirements and by the variety of social influences to which work exposes her. Modernizing household expenditure budgets reflect the costs of maintaining social relations outside of the home, such as expenditures for clothing and entertainment.

A distinction among three types of traditionalist cultural orientations is relevant to WIN programming. 1) Adjusted traditionalists, of whom Puerto Rican welfare mothers are prototypical, are conformists in a family and milieu which is supportive of a traditional female role. Motherhood is the core of their identity. They may work in occupations such as domestic service, which is an extension of traditional household activities. 2) Incompetent traditionalists who, because of intellectual incompetence or psychopathology, cannot compete effectively in the commercial and industrial labor markets and tend not to be exposed to wider of modernizing influences. Many of these are adequate as mothers. 3) Temporary traditionalists who are either in the process of cultural transition to modernizing or only temporarily out of the labor force while they care for small dependent children.

Finding: Modernizing women are more likely to work in blue and white collar "modernizing" occupations, and this work promotes a modernizing life style.

Comment: While traditionalist women are more likely to be precipitated into welfare dependence when they lose the support of their men, traditionalism and modernizing are not synonyms for welfare and work as sources of income. Traditionalist women do work outside the home but tend to have occupations which are

extensions of their family roles--domestic service, waitresses, nurse's aides. Since, in this study population, traditionalists tend to be found at the lower levels of these occupations, their work incomes tend to be unstable. Modernizers enter the more proletarian occupations of the commercial establishments and factories. Such labor is not simply a correlate but is an expression of that life style. The social relations occasioned by such work further promote a modernizing life style.

Finding: Members of AFDC cohorts polarize with respect to economic independence and dependence while on welfare. This polarization is related to traditionalist and modernizing orientations as well as to questions of intellectual and emotional competence. The latter is a factor in the likelihood that they leave welfare through marriage. The WIN program, by facilitating career development of modernizers, is enmeshed in the polarization process.

Comment: Most welfare mothers are, at the moment of entry into welfare, totally dependent on welfare. They may have had a child or divorced. With time, some of the women increase their earnings at an accelerating pace and eventually leave welfare. Others remain dependent, a residual of the original cohort, and are joined by residuals of later cohorts. Welfare residuals include some psychopathological women with low intellectual competence as well as some adjusted traditionalists for whom marriage, their principal alternative to welfare dependence, is improbable. After their children have grown, some legitimate their continued dependency by becoming ill.

Finding: The WIN selection process is one of "negotiation" between client and agency.

Comment: Both client and agency perceive their relationship extending beyond the encounter over the WIN program. It is in their mutual interest to avoid coercion and conflict. For instance, about half of those invited do not appear for the initial screening interview. When asked about what the State Employment Service might do if not satisfied with their reasons for refusing to participate, about half of those said the agency would do nothing. For those who prefer to be home rather than working, the program is just another intervention that they deal with. They negotiate this difference in a way acceptable both to themselves and to the local agency.

Finding: By selecting for training the most competent and those who are already on their way to modernizing, the WIN agency selects for its own success.

Comment: For many clients, WIN is a facilitator. Those who have worked part-time during a year are more likely to be selected. Those who have an interest in moving into the skilled blue collar and white collar occupations and have participated in a previous job training program are more likely to be selected. The best predictor of being invited to the program is the client's own statement of intention to go to work. The agency avoids abnormal personalities, the less intelligent and those who have less orderly and scheduled daily lives. The agency selects those whose personalities are oriented to things rather than those concerned with persons. Those internally disciplined and ascetic and who attend church and who can develop a rapport with the counselor are more likely to be selected for training. The more pleasantly expressive personalities are more likely to be invited to training. Those prone to personal conflicts, as evidenced by conflicts in their families, are less likely to be invited.

Finding: The WIN program is a rallying point for modernizers.

Comment: WIN participants aspire to social mobility for themselves and for their children, are active and extroverted personalities and are oriented positively to the world of work. These indices of modernizing are more significant than purely economic considerations in motivating WIN participants. Modernizing mothers self select for the WIN program. Potential trainees influence their selection by the WIN staff by communicating a promise of success in training and in subsequently holding a job.

Finding: State and local administrations adapt the eligibility rules, or adjust the application of those rules, in the light of local exigencies and so promote program success.

Comment: Negotiation with clients for selection involves adaptation of the WIN guidelines, especially for eligibility requirements. Federal guidelines which operationalize the program are the first adaptations of the original statute. State government further adapts them to its administrative procedures and programs and the local agency adapts them in its dealings with clients. The adaptations result in young, single and better educated modernizers being more likely to be accepted into the program than the traditionally oriented. The program, as a consequence, enjoys smoother administration, is less embroiled in local conflicts and probably maximizes program impact by restricting it to motivated candidates.

Finding: A large family is more of a deterrent to WIN participation than is responsibility for preschool children.

Comment: Legislation excuses mothers of preschoolers from WIN. Yet, our evidence is that mothers of preschool children are as likely as mothers without small children to participate. On the other hand, few mothers of large families, whatever their children's ages, participate in WIN. Those who resist assignment to the program tend to be traditionalists, to consider remunerative employment inappropriate for women and to be reluctant to delegate child care to other than female kin. Cultural orientation is a more significant factor than stage in the family life cycle.

Finding: Attitude toward the WIN program is both a predictor of acceptance for training and a consequence of that training.

Comment: A positive attitude on the part of welfare mothers toward the program supports entrance into training. If they are favorable toward day care programs, they are more likely to be selected. Those who are trained by WIN are more likely to say that WIN benefitted them. This is a result both of selecting the more highly motivated and of their subsequent experience with the program.

Finding: The clients' approach to the negotiations is reflected in their "deep" attitudes toward WIN program personnel. Welfare women are more likely to perceive agency officials as "gatekeepers" and working mothers to perceive them as "guides."

Comment: "Welfare" mothers are those who, at the beginning of this study were almost entirely dependent on the AFDC program for their income. "Working" mothers were almost entirely sustained by their own earnings. Both the welfare and the working sample were female heads of household and both categories had the same level of household income. The nature of the negotiation for work depends on whether the authority is perceived as coercive or persuasive. Respondents wrote stories in response to a drawing of a figure seated at a desk. These stories were coded according to whether the person was perceived as a "gatekeeper," an authority who decides whether or not to admit the respondent to some reward or facility, or as a "guide"--a "teacher" committed to instructing the respondent, or a "disciplinarian," who controls the respondent coercively, or a "counselor," who assists the respondent in making decisions about her own behavior. The gatekeeper represents another social system, is less concerned with change in the applicant than with the evaluation of the applicant's qualifications to enter or to be served by that system. The client is negotiating as an outsider. The guide is a member of the same system to which the applicant belongs. The client negotiates as an insider.

Finding: Mothers who are supported by a man are less likely to be selected for WIN training--even though the household income is not increased thereby.

Comment: The population of welfare and working mothers selected for this study were all qualified for the WIN program according to Federal guidelines. The negotiations between client and agency which determined the actual participation may be divided into three stages: Some of the mothers are contacted by letter and asked to come to the agency to discuss the program. The decision as to whom to contact in this way is ordinarily made on the basis of their attributes as recorded in the agency files. Then, an invitation is extended to some of them on the basis of an interview. The third stage is an actual assignment to a training slot. Their support by a man influenced the negotiations differently at each of these stages. The more enduring were their relationships with men, the less likely were the women to be contacted by the program. After this initial contact, marital status has little influence on whether an invitation to training is extended. However, regardless of marital status, those who had not established a joint residence with a man were more likely to be invited. These tended to be the single, never married women. Joint residence seemed to act as a sign of traditional economic dependence on a man. Agency officials are less likely to draw these already cared for women into the scarce training slots. This echoes a 1930's civil service practice of not retaining women in government employ if the husband was a government worker.

Finding: Black AFDC women are more likely than white women to be invited to participate in WIN training in this particular study population.

Comment: Because of occupational discrimination, the AFDC rolls include a higher proportion of blacks than of white modernizers. A white welfare dependent is more likely to be there because of her commitment to a traditionalist position. It is also possible that the civil rights movement has increased the sensitivity of agency officials to the need to provide training beneficial to blacks.

Finding: Catholic blacks are more likely than Protestant blacks to be invited to participate in WIN training programs but, ultimately, are less likely to enter training.

Comment: Because of their active achievement orientation (see below), Catholic black women appear to the Work Incentive Program counselors as prime candidates for upgrading and work training. Their activism is manifest in their participation in community social events such as church, parent-teacher groups, political

groups, welfare organizations and voting and, above all, in raising a family. In the last analysis, however, Catholic black women seek to invest their energy in family building and so are less likely to be drawn into vocational training.

Finding: If they work, Catholic black women are more likely to hold traditional jobs.

Comment: Being committed to household and traditional occupations, Catholic black are less interested in shifting to working in manufacturing or commerce, the settings for which the program trains.

Finding: Candidates who involve themselves in more WIN program activities, such as orientation sessions, job training, additional education, receiving training allowances or child care services, increase the earned proportion of their income more than those not having these experiences (1969-73). Those with relatively less complex involvements experience a decrease in the proportion of their income derived from their work.

Comment: Not only the explicitly work oriented aspects of WIN but the supportive aspects, as well, are effective. Doubtless, the program elements exert their impact in an organized fashion. Effectiveness of work training may be contingent upon child care provision or on the relief of the mother from economic concerns obtained through a training allowance. The influence of social climate, of occupation, and of the WIN program are probably three facets of the same thing--the development of social circles, which support a positive attitude toward work achievement and facilitate entry of workers into areas where reward is possible. (See the discussion below on social networks).

Finding: WIN trained mothers become more modernized, activistic and socially mobile than do low income working mothers who have not gone through the program.

Comment: Low income woman workers, projected into the job market through the usual economic mechanisms, tend to occupy traditional service occupations. WIN participants move from welfare to work through a politically based agency. The very process of negotiating their way through WIN and their association with other modernizers sensitizes them to the role of political activity. They become actively oriented to shaping their social environment and advancing themselves in the process. They are more likely to enter the industrial sector and assume the attitudes of organized labor. They develop more positive attitudes toward child care arrangements

and this eases the emotional burden of engaging in an occupation away from their children. At the same time, they develop more negative attitudes toward the WIN agency, despite their feeling of having benefitted from WIN (see above), and toward welfare programs than do either other welfare or other low income working mothers. Criticisms may reflect the stress of change and, thus, may be a sign of program success. The agency may be a lightning rod drawing off these tensions. Of course, the frustration of non-change also accompanies a program that deals only with the upgrading of labor and not with the labor market--when that market is tight.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Stability of the Family of Origin

Finding: Stability of the women's family of origin, including regular presence of the father, has no influence on their occupational careers nor does it influence their work ideologies.

Comment: Women's fathers do not play an active role in their daughter's careers. However, the women's fathers' general social status is reflected in their later socioeconomic careers. Family stability does, however, promote men's occupational careers. Fathers contribute to their sons' socialization for and placement in vocational careers.

Finding: When absence of a father depresses the children's level of achievement, it is because it deprives them of his resources, not because it implies cultural deprivation.

Comment: With respect to women's occupational achievement, the economic status of the family of origin is more important than its social stability. That stability, however, is relevant to the way she assumes her later role as wife and mother.

Education: Vocational and Academic

Finding: For these low income welfare and working women, higher levels of education do not translate directly into higher levels of earnings. It does, however, correlate with the likelihood of being employed. The higher earnings of the better educated

result from working more rather than from higher wages.

Comment: Earnings increase with increases in education through the early years of high school. After that they seem to hit a ceiling on their earnings which increments of education, alone, do not easily overcome. The knowledge of this fact discourages women from pursuing more advanced education to the extent that their interest in education derives from mobility aspirations. At the same time,very low levels of education reduce the probability of a recipient's being employed at all.

Finding: The effect of level of education on the proportion of income which is earned is diminished under the adverse conditions of economic contraction.

Comment: While educational achievement has a positive effect on the employment, and others on the earnings, of low income females who head families, the marginal utility of added years of education declined significantly in 1973, when unemployment rates reached their peak, as compared to 1969 and 1970 when moderate unemployment rates prevailed.

Finding: The benefits of educational attainment for economic independence are most clearly derived when education is followed by labor force participation.

Comment: Education, by itself, is associated with a potential for occupational achievement. The fact of working is an indicator of the direction in which the education is applied. The combination of these two life experiences is a better predictor of future labor force participation than either alone.

Finding: Education is an important determinant of the level of social participation outside of the household, and such wider social interaction influences labor force activity. Depending on the characteristics of that network the influence on employment may be positive or negative.

Comment: High school graduation reflects not only greater socialization for employment, for economic achievement, but more general strengths and skills, including the confidence born of success in one particular social system, the school. These strengths and skills enable the men and women to develop constructive relationships with others in community groups on both an informal and on a formal basis.

Kinship and friendship networks mediate the relation of education and work. The size and composition, number of relatives, friends and workers in the men's and women's social

networks are positively associated with their levels of participation in political and religious activities and, in general, with their labor force participation. The proportion of welfare recipients in the networks is negatively associated with social and labor force activity. The proportion of working women in the network is positively associated with labor force participation.

Finding: Vocational training, alone, does not have as much influence on later job success or earnings as does graduation from high school with a more general academic education.

Comment: Women with vocational training are more likely to participate in formal voluntary associations and less likely to meet their social needs through informal interaction with neighbors. Job training, however, without a high school education has but a limited influence on later employment and earnings. Occupational advancement is dependent on the management of social and cultural relations as well as on technical proficiency. Little is added to earnings by training a high school graduate in this population.

Finding: Of all types of vocational training, that given in the armed forces and by private employers is most strongly related to socioeconomic success.

Comment: Government sponsored training is negatively related to the men's socioeconomic positions. This is a consequence of the population being trained and the setting of training rather than of the content of the training. Government training is more likely to be given to the disadvantaged men. Training in the armed forces or by private employers promotes upward occupational mobility even among the high school dropouts.

Finding: Training is most effective in assuring later employment when the trainee is already on the job for which he or she is being trained.

Comment: This is true, for the obvious reason, that the trainee already has the job. In addition, however, employee selection and job socialization are specific to the workplace.

Labor Market Experience

Finding: Participation in the secondary sector of the labor market tends to reduce the probability that a recipient will be employed in the future.

Comment: Secondary sector employment does not have a career dimension to it so that experience does not increase the likelihood of future employment. Further, those women who accept secondary sector work tend to be the traditionalists who will return to householding when that is possible.

Finding: The extent to which low income female heads of household have penetrated the primary sector of a dual labor market is an impressive positive predictor of autonomy from state benefits. This relationship holds regardless of fluctuation in the economic environment.

Comment: Quite simply, the tendency is for women with more extensive primary sector labor experiences, including exposure to the lower tier of the primary sector of the labor market, to be more independent. Their labor experience provides a greater degree of autonomy and less alienation than is available in the secondary sector of the labor market and, thus, influences the ability to earn an income. Better jobs are also more protected from the labor market reflections of economic deterioration.

Family Structure and Authority

Finding: Early marriage and early childbearing are associated, subsequently, with lower labor force participation.

Comment: Early marriage and childbearing are associated with norms which discourage work for women. The more children women have, the more they oppose women's employment and support motherhood as the prime virtue. Level of fertility is consistently negatively associated with economic levels. Those who marry early, however, are also the most competent and active in this population. Their activity is devoted to family building, not to success in the marketplace.

Finding: The probability of a welfare recipient being employed is significantly reduced if young children requiring care are in the household.

Comment: This is a life cycle factor but is mitigated by cultural orientation. As noted above, this finding is less marked for modernizing than for traditionalist women.

Finding: Husbandless mothers with many children are more likely than those who simply have young children to become long term welfare dependents.

> Comment: Welfare programs are attuned to the support of husbandless mothers of preschool children, and, thus, include modernizers at an early stage in the family life cycle as well as traditionalists. Modernizers who are work oriented will, even while they have small children, seek work or work training. The traditionalist with four or more children, whatever the ages of those children, is most likely to remain a long-term dependent. With no functioning extended family and poor marriage chances, economic dependency is almost inevitable. Typical earning capacities in this population are less than the cost of caring for three children.

Finding: Women have more successful socioeconomic careers in those families which are relatively less patriarchal.

> Comment: Where the women make the decision about their employment, their economic status is higher. The explanation is not that a woman's authority promotes her economic status but that patriarchal authority is an element of the culture of lower class families. A patriarchal household is likely to be one in which the wife considers mothering and being a wife to be her sole obligation and the men are reluctant to see their women working outside the home and, perhaps, neglecting the home or exposed to other men.

Personality and Attitude Factors

Finding: Men whose social participation (i.e., in religious and political organizations) is wider disapprove of women working. These same associations are related to positive attitudes toward men's working.

> Comment: Men who participate in voluntary associations feel that they and not their mates should work and provide for the family.

Finding: A woman's commitment to work (as measured by her willingness to exert varying degrees of effort to obtain employment) is not related to the probability of her being employed, to the absolute level of her earnings, or to the percent of her total income accounted for by earnings.

Comment: Work attitudes seem to be relatively less important in accounting for female than for male labor force participation. In this low income population, the family of origin tends not to inculcate occupational ambitions in daughters. The economics of the household and labor market conditions are more influential than is attitude.

Finding: Working women are more likely to believe that effort will be rewarded than are welfare women. In this sense, the belief, a cognitive perceptual factor, correlates with occupational behavior.

Comment: The measure of belief in the usefulness of effort is a projective one. Respondents wrote stories in response to two drawings, one depicting a job applicant and the other a job training situation. These stories were coded according to whether the central character exerted an effort, and, if so, whether that effort produced success. The notion that effort is rewarded is at the core of the American achievement orientation. Unlike religious systems, in which effort is exerted for its own sake, the occupational system treats effort as a means to an end. Success in an occupation, while depending on factors beyond the worker's attitude, is conditioned by the worker's faith in the usefulness of her effort.

Finding: Belief in the usefulness of effort is, in turn, rooted in enjoyment of stable social relations.

Comment: The belief in the achievement ethic is correlated with the types of personality variables which support order in living in general. The belief is also correlated with social relational stability. Thus, among whites, a stable residential history in Camden is associated with a belief in the usefulness of effort. The longer the blacks have been in Camden, the more they believe in the usefulness of effort. Relational stability is, thus, indirectly related to labor force participation.

Finding: Commitment to the norm of the usefulness of effort is acquired by experience in forming social relations, not by experience of success in an occupation. It is a function of the solidarity and support offered the woman by her social milieu.

Comment: The belief in the worthwhileness of effort increases with age despite the fact that older people have experienced more work failure. This variable, rooted in a psychological disposition to perceive the self as active and determining, a disposition that characterizes those with secure social rela-

tions, may support commitment to a norm of work in the occupational world. Attributes which make for the commitment to effort in the work world also lead to the early establishment by women of serious mate relations and the stability of those relations. Following this route, an achievement orientation may find its expression in developing a home and a family.

Finding: Females with an authentic feminine gender identity, rather than those identifying with males, are more likely to enter the labor force. These are working women in the traditional sense of the rural women working the fields. The "authentic" female relates to labor as a way of life to be pursued in addition to her household duties.

Comment: "Female gender identity" is here measured by the sex of a figure in a draw-a-person-test. A drawing of a female figure, consistent with the social-sex classification of our respondents, is taken as evidence of an "authentic gender identity." It is sometimes assumed that a change in her gender identity, the male side of her self image becoming prominent, is required to enable her to assume roles ordinarily assigned to males. Authentic gender identity, however, correlates with psychological assertiveness, with personality maturity and with higher intelligence. As women move into the labor force, their ability to identify work roles as appropriate for themselves is a significiant element in their motivation to seek these roles, to assume them when offered, and to succeed in them.

Finding: The sex typing of work roles is less of an attitudinal barrier to women entering the labor force than is the sex typing of household roles. The transition to modernizing work roles for women begins with changes in family roles. The notion that a woman may be the provider and still enjoy an authentic female gender identity is a crucial element enabling her to participate in the labor force.

Comment: The strain of being head of a matrifocal household, a woman alone and expected to assume a man's role, is greater when the culture of the household is patriarchal. Black households tend to be relatively more patriarchal than white ones. Black women, thrust into the patriarchally defined role of head of household, draw sexually ambiguous figures, evidencing the loss of the authentic sense of self.

Kinship and Friendship Network Effects

Finding: Social relational factors, characteristics of friends and relatives, have a more immediate influence on labor force participation than do attitudinal factors.

> Comment: The likelihood of entering the labor force, or of becoming a WIN participant, is higher for mothers having female relatives who work, who associate with friends who work and, in general, for those who enjoy social relations in the wider community. Social relations, in general, provide occasions for encountering variant ideas, stimulating broader thinking. Associating with workers generates positive attitudes toward work. Labor force participation is lower for those who have relatives on welfare, who associate with welfare mothers and, in general, interact little with the community. Welfare, in part a result of social isolation, does little to prevent continued isolation. The social relational factors are the ground of the attitudes which serve, then, to rationalize participation or non-participation in the labor force.

Finding: Men integrated into a network of employed men are more supportive of the idea of women working.

> Comment: Paradoxically, it is men who do not have a network of friends who work who are the most resistant to the idea of their women working--despite their need for income. Traditionalist culture is crucial here.

Finding: The size of the women's family networks, irrespective of their characteristics, is associated with favorable attitudes on the part of women toward both men and women working.

> Comment: Participation in a kinship network is, itself, a form of social activity outside of the individual household. With more relatives to share family and household tasks, some of the women may be released from household duties to engage in economic activities. A large kin network is associated with traditionalism and the working women in such a network are more likely to enter occupations traditionally female.

Finding: Among women, participation in community groups is as important as the characteristics of their kinship and friendship networks for their socioeconomic careers.

Comment: Participation in religious groups, neighborhood organizations and the parent-teacher association provides women an opportunity to engage in activity in the wider world and to develop the strengths and skills necessary for occupational activity.

Finding: Employment training of women increases their interaction with other employed persons. This experience, alone, does not assure their movement into the labor force. It also contributes to other forms of social participation. Employment training may increase women's involvement with relatives even more than with employed friends.

Comment: The basic orientation of women to their families is the controlling factor. Whatever new learning is acquired is absorbed into social activity in this fundamental context. This, of course, points up the difficulty in thinking of skill training abstracted from a wider educational and social context.

The Effect of Religious Participation

Finding: Religious affiliations are primary crucibles of the family and economic aspects of life style of this population of female headed households.

Comment: Church congregations are perhaps the most frequent true social interaction groups in this population. About half of the day care centers used by welfare and working poor mothers in Camden are located in churches. Classification by religious affiliation and work-welfare status orders the study population from the relatively traditional to modernizing. Denominational affiliation may change with change in life style and labor force participation. Welfare mothers with no religious affiliation tend to be the most poorly educated, have the lowest incomes, to be the most socially isolated, emotionally disturbed and have the highest proportion of intellectual incompetents. The Pentecostal churches, operating at the border between this amorphous population and the more typical welfare dependents, help mobilize motivation to strive for a better life, encourage social activity and teach a personal morality which contributes to the attitudinal and behavioral stability needed for economic participation. Those whose lives are balanced between part time work and welfare are more likely to affiliate with the sectarian Baptist and Methodist churches, and those more regularly working may be attracted to "main line" black Protestant churches. Non-church affiliated working mothers tend to be the most highly educated, most intelligent, have relatively high incomes and participate in the life of the broader community.

Finding: Today's black churches are religious institutional embodiments of black culture. They support attitudes toward labor which grow out of the social situation of blacks in the United States. Race is a more important determinant of labor force participation than is religion.

> Comment: The Protestant names of these contemporary churches have led interpreters of black religion to view them as branches of Protestant churches. Contemporary black religious life emerges from an older Negro folk culture and expresses the past and contemporary social conditions of blacks. These are Protestant blacks rather than black Protestants.

Finding: Catholic black women are more achievement oriented than Protestant black women. This energy is channeled into personal relations, especially the family, rather than into the occupational sphere. Becoming Catholic in this black Protestant environment is promotive, paradoxically, of the "Protestant ethic" among Catholics.

> Comment: Catholic blacks, as seen here through their women, are the achivers and economic rationalists of the black community. Their religious orientations and their activism are not realized through an occupational culture but through familial and political relations.

Finding: A Catholic household in a black community is likely to be isolated from a kinship network.

> Comment: Catholic blacks are recruited to the community disproportionately through conversion from Protestantism. The conversion tends to isolate them from their extended kin. Catholic black matrifocal households tend to be larger households but embedded in relatively smaller family networks than those of Protestant blacks. Lacking the large kinship networks which, as noted above, support labor force participation, they direct their energies to family maintenance.

CHANGES IN EARNINGS OF FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

Finding: Changes in level of earned income over time may, in varying degrees, be attributed to the personal qualities of the primary earner in the household, the culture and the social organization of the household.

> Comment: Over the four year period (1969-73) the proportion of income earned decreased for 18% of the matrifocal households in the study, did not change for 52%, and increased for 30%. An increase is positively associated with the level of intelligence of the head of household, the extent that her social circle includes more working friends (as opposed to having a friendship network oriented to transfer payments), and being part of a residential community as evidenced by living for 20 or more years in Camden.

Finding: The change in earnings is related to type of occupation and more to the number of hours worked than to the level of wages.

> Comment: At the time of the study, those working in business or commercial enterprises and those engaged in healing, educational, religious organizations increased their earnings more than did those in industrial settings. The changes in wage rates in these various sectors is less important for this finding than are the changes in employment rates. On the industrial level, work settings differentially influence work achievement orientation. Those in industrial settings in this population tend to be basic operatives. Perhaps the setting does not develop an achievement drive in them comparable to that developed in white collar workers in business and the helping service agencies.

Finding: An increase in household earnings is associated with external communal participation (economic, religious, political, etc.) of the head of household.

> Comment: Increased participation in the economy "demystifies" the world of work, opening the possibility of using it as a base for wider social involvement. A social climate of work produces workers who establish conditions facilitating wider community participation. A social climate of welfare dependency includes withdrawal from community.

Finding: Marriage increases household earned income to a greater extent than any other factor. The most disastrous family event with respect to earnings is to become single.

> Comment: The issue is, of course, the change in the woman's source of support accompanying her change in marital status. This is almost too obvious to require stating but points up the importance of studying how these families become matrifocal.

Finding: Increased involvement in work on the part of female heads of household has an antinatal effect. Contrariwise, the anticipation of a larger family is associated with a decline in economic independence.

> Comment: Those who concentrate on family life, usually the traditionalists, have less of an increase in household earnings. This is a result of withdrawal, not only from the economy, but from outside organizational participation. Churchgoing is one of the basic activities otuside the household associated with increased earnings.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF MEN

Influence of the Family of Origin

Finding: The economic role performance of the father in the family of origin has little influence on the son's work ideologies. Men's fathers' success as providers contributes to the sons' later economic achievement. Intergenerational transmission of social status is more effective in determining the sons' than the daughters' status.

> Comment: This finding results from the fact that in this low income population the range of income and occupations is small. Father's occupations when isolated from other factors have little influence. The father's occupation must be converted into the children's education in order to have a lasting effect and this requires a cultural commitment which may not follow directly from occupation.

Finding: The greater their fathers' authority in the household, the more likely are the sons to advance socioeconomically. However, the greater their father's authority, the more likely were the daughters to be on welfare.

> Comment: A cause-effect relation cannot be asserted. Both patriarchal authority and the decision that work is for men is a function of traditional family norms--as is the association of patriarchal authority and a decision not to work for women. While male dominance is an element of lower class culture, it is also likely that the men's exercise of authority in the family is negatively associated with concern for success in the occupational world.

Finding: The size of the families of origin has a major effect on the socioeconomic positions of men and women but not on their ideologies about work and achievement.

> Comment: With more chilren, fewer parental material resources are available, on the average, to each child. Work and achievement norms which parents inculcate in their children are not affected by this distribution factor.

Finding: A small family of origin is more important than stability of that family in generating work and income for sons among young whites. Family stability is more significant than size of family for young blacks.

> Comment: Young whites are most influenced by the ability of their families to allocate resources for their future. Among blacks the influence is conditioned by the ability of families to do something with those resources.

Educational Effects

Finding: The major factor generating success, employment, and income for whites is the father's occupation, while it is education for blacks.

> Comment: Blacks who receive a better education are also those who are better situated for occupational mobility. The family may have less to contribute to their mobility than the community.

Finding: Young blacks have disadvantages, relative to whites, in the inheritance of status and in the conversion of their own educational achievement into occupational achievement.

Comment: Despite their profound importance, background factors provide only some of the explanation of achievement among the men in our sample. Here the issue is one of occupational discrimination as it continues in the current environment of these youths.

Family Structure and Kinship Network

Finding: Among the men, delay of marriage and, particularly, delay of fatherhood are conducive to socioeconomic success.

Comment: The men who have had an illegitimate child may be disadvantaged if that promotes dropping out of school. Men who have had a child without having a job tend to have both family and economic problems. This association is not necessarily causal. Early marriage and lower commitment to the labor force both characterize men who find their fulfillment in more intimate familial relations.

Finding: Older men with wives or mates and/or children to support are, in this particular sample, more likely to be working steadily, to have higher incomes (which may, however, include welfare payments) and to own a home than men without wives and/or children.

Comment: These men are more highly motivated to achieve economically though not necessarily to increase their occupational prestige. This association between labor force stability and family structure is probably stronger in the modernizing than in traditional households.

Finding: When extended kin networks, both of men and of their mates, include work oriented persons, the men are more likely to be achievement oriented, have attitudes favorable to work, and to be at work.

Comment: Both the men's network characteristics and their participation in community organizations are correlated with their socioeconomic achievement--employment status and stability, occupational status, income and economic independence, that is, ability to rely on earnings rather than on transfer payments. A network of friends or kin including welfare recipients tends to discourage such achievement.

WHY FAMILIES BECOME MATRIFOCAL

Life Cycle Developmental Factors

The Family of Origin

Finding: A large family of origin and patriarchal authority in that family are predictive of stability in the family of procreation.

> Comment: Both of these factors are associated with traditionalism and its orientation to marriage and family as a central life pursuit for both men and women.

Finding: When childhood identification is more with parents, or other adult men and women, than with siblings, families of procreation are more enduring.

> Comment: Identification with a mated role incumbent promotes the men and women becoming socialized for their own mated roles through intergenerational identification during childhood. This illustrates the importance of cross-generational relations in socialization for marital stability. When identification tends more to be associated with the siblings, the parents probably have a rather deteriorated relation with the children.

The Stability of Early Marriages

Finding: Adolescent and common law marriages, nearly always fertile, are the most enduring the women in this study population form.

> Comment: Generally, adolescent relationships tend to be more durable than those established later. This finding, based on an AFDC population, refers only to women whose marriages, or mate-relations, have terminated. That is, of all the terminated relations, the ones started earlier, often the first of a series, were the most enduring. By age 27, the average AFDC recipient had spent some 11 years in serious relationsips with men. Relationships subsequent to the first, typically, contend with the shadow family of the first.

Finding: Woman who enter their first serious relationships before age 18, as compared with those beginning later, have a stronger commitment to bearing and rearing children. Eventually they will bear and rear larger families.

Comment: Children represent the claim to adult status of traditionalist women. Compared with those who defer marriage, these have less education and generally little or no job training. Occasionally, they work in traditional occupations, an extension of household duties. Their social circles support the implicit decision not to enter the labor force. These same circles also support their decision to accept welfare assistance for the purpose for which it is intended, the maintenance of a family.

Finding: Woman who marry early report more marital conflict in general, and, in particular, more fighting over adultery, more sexual problems, and more problems with drugs or alcohol. The termination of adolescent relations is more likely to be accompanied by quarreling and violence than is the termination of relations initiated later.

Comment: In general, the young marriages, especially the fertile ones, resist breakdown. They suffer more than their share of unemployment of the male head of household and are more troubled with income deficiency than those who marry later and have smaller families. These relationships break under a high level of interpersonal tension. The more explosive the termination of the relation, the quicker is the woman to enter another relationship, and, perhaps, to repeat the pattern, though less passionately.

Finding: Adolescent marriage is more likely to occur when the family of origin is intact and the mates have a relatively large number of extended kin. Such marriages should be seen as a normal event in the life cycle of the traditional family, not a deviant act of deviant individuals.

Comment: Women who enter early relationships and bear children in them are from the more integral nuclear and extended families. These are the more intelligent, as measured by the digit symbol test of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, and more emotionally stable, as evidenced by the projective figure drawings.

Finding: Men who marry or have their first child while still adolescents and before they enter the labor force, have lower levels of family stability.

Comment: For men, as for women, early marriage is a sign of commitment to family and children more than to the work world and its mobility opportunities. However, premature assumption

of family roles by a male is detrimental to family stability. This is due to the fact that the males may not yet be able to provide economically for the family.

Race

Finding: Whites have the highest levels of family stability and the blacks have the lowest levels, and the Puerto Ricans intermediate levels.

Comment: The effects of race or ethnicity may be confounded with those of religious affiliation. Most (around 2/3) of the whites are Roman Catholics while most (around 9/10) of the blacks are Protestants, primarily black Baptists and Methodists. Catholics have higher levels of family stability than Protestants. Puerto Ricans have traditional conceptions of the priority of family roles and stable traditional definitions of their content. Most Puerto Ricans are Pentecostals, if not Catholics. Pentecostals, in this sample, have relatively high levels of family stability.

Networks of Family and Friends

Finding: Men with larger networks of friends have higher levels of family stability.

Comment: Social networks consist of persons to whom respondents feel close or on whom they can depend for help. The effect on family stability is strongest for those whose friendship networks include workers and fathers--and do not include men on welfare. Men who have developed close and helpful relationships with their peers, particularly with peers in marital and paternal roles, are more likely to perform well in these roles.

Finding: The larger the kin network of the males, the lower the family stability.

Comment: This association may be spurious. Kin networks are more salient among the younger men who have both larger networks and whose youth is detrimental to family stability. On the other hand, those whose marital ties have been broken give more attention to the maintenance of kinship networks. Another possibility is that men, like women in the population, gravitate toward their kin when their family of procreation dissolves.

The Effect of Economic Life

Finding: The women's satisfaction with their mate's family performance is related directly to the men's economic status.

Comment: This is not simply that economic success leads to satisfaction and failure to dissatisfaction. The satisfaction of women is an incentive for the men to continue to succeed. The women's denial of esteem and respect diminishes the men's motivation to work. Women's satisfaction with the men's economic performance is directly related to the men's agreement with the norm that men have a duty to work.

Finding: When the socioeconomic position of men is higher than that of their mates, the family is more enduring.

Comment: Women's satisfaction with the men's economic performance promotes other aspects of family stability. Men's economic advantages over their mates become resources which they exchange for their mates' esteem and compliance--elements which stabilize the relationship.

The Quality of the Relationship and Family Stability

Finding: Mutuality of perception of the need each feels for the other and shared evaluation of their mates' role performance contributes to family stability.

Comment: Couples involved in intimate mate relationships share a high degree of mutuality of perceptions regarding important aspects of their interaction. The shared perceptions investigated refer to the distribution of power between the couple, the degree to which they are integrated, the need each feels for the other, how desirable each perceives the other to be, and their evaluations of the man's role performance. Mutuality of perception regarding the distribution of power between them does not seem to be related to durability of the relationship. These findings seem to hold regardless of the social characteristics of the respondents.

Finding: Men's, as well as women's, interest in and commitment to child rearing is associated with family stability.

Comment: Mates who are also parents experience higher levels of marital conflict. They are also more committed to being mates. Marital and parental roles support one another. The deeper the men's and women's relationships with their children, the deeper their relationships with one another.

Finding: Exchanges of male economic performance and participation in child rearing for female esteem and compliance and exchanges of esteem and commitment between the mates are important for family stability.

Comment: Contract and bargaining for exchange constitute a major principle of family organization. Nevertheless, such contractual relations must be woven with those involving elements of solidarity not based on contract. For example, joint activities have major influences on their family stability. They are based, not on a division of family labor and exchange, but on the gratification inherent in companionship and in the relationship itself. Traditional social institutions, such as churches, community organizations, and, perhaps, political ones, whose function is to promote solidarity, tend to discourage bargaining and exchange in favor of status-defined obligations.

Finding: No case was discovered in which family dissolution was traced to the possibility of increased welfare income for the female head of household.

Comment: The literature suggests that some men may leave their families in order to enable them to enjoy larger welfare benefits. Throughout the study, the bases for family dissolution are the same as those affecting families in other social strata.

Family Authority and Family Stability

Conflict and Authority

Finding: Ambiguity of authority relations between the mates causes and is caused by marital conflict.

Comment: Family authority is assessed in terms of the way household decisions are made on social-relational and instrumental matters. Social-relational authority is measured by an index of three items referring to decisions to invite people to the house, where to go out for an evening, and which friends to visit. Instrumental authority refers to decisions about where to live, when to buy a new TV and when to pay bills. The household authority is classified as patriarchal or matriarchal according to whether the decision is more likely to made by the man or by the woman. The questions were asked of both mates. The household was classified as unambiguously patriarchal if both agreed that the man should decide in the given area, and unambiguously matriarchal if both agreed that the area was subject to the woman's decision.

Vehement conflict may lead to a degeneration of legitimate family authority and its replacement by illegitimate power as a way of maintaining order in the household. Fighting with and/or walking out on one's mate vitiates marital solidarity. At the same time, as authority becomes more ambiguous, dissension about decisions increases.

Race and Authority

Finding: Black and Puerto Rican households are more patriarchal in social decision making than white households.

> Comment: Some of the literature refers to a black matriarchy. The evidence of this study consistently shows black households to be more patriarchal than white households of the same socio-economic level. Some of the literature confuses matriarchy with matrifocality. One reason that the black female headed household has difficulty is that it retains a basic patriarchal ethos while having no male regularly present.

Involvement In the Family and Community

Finding: Patriarchal authority in family social decisions is associated with reduced participation by both mates in political and other forms of community life and concentration of their interest on family life. Matriarchal family organization emerges as the mates' attention is drawn to the wide arena of community life.

> Comment: Patriarchy in social decisions is more likely where the male is not active in outside organizations, including where he is detached from the economy. Welfare, rather than work, is associated with patriarchy. Where both the man and the woman are working, or only the male is working, the result tended toward matriarchy. This is a result of increased attention to life outside the home. Where the male's attention is on the life outside and hers is on the household, she dominates the household. Involvement in a religious institution is an exception. It is associated with patriarchy rather than matriarchy. A more educated father produces a daughter who tends to have matriarchal attitudes. Increasing education of the male promotes an acceptance of matriarchy in his own household. Education, too, is a factor extending the social horizon outside of the household.

Finding: Patriarchal authority in household instrumental decisions is associated with a male detached from participation in the external polity or economy and from the society of males. Matriarchy seems associated with being oriented to the polity and economy as a means to social mobility.

> Comment: The logic here is much the same as in the domain of social decisions. Again, black respondents are more patriarchal than whites. Puerto Ricans are the most patriarchal of all.

Finding: The greater the significance of the family for the male, the more the tendency toward patriarchal authority in the domain of instrumental decisions.

> Comment: Areas of authority seem to correspond to areas of responsibility. Male authority reigns in the home as long as the male treats it as a significant arena of his action. The significance of his role in the family, in this sense, does not depend upon whether he supports the family or has high status outside of it.

Social Networks

Finding: Patriarchy seems associated with belonging to social networks whose members tend not to be steadily employed.

> Comment: In traditional households in some cultures, menial labor of women expressed their lower status in the household. The association of patriarchal authority in the household and withdrawal of the male from work obligation seems consistent with this. Perhaps, more to the point here, employment implies involvement with life outside the home and, as shown above, this is associated with matriarchy. Church involvement, almost an extension of the family, stands by itself as the one type of outside involvement consistent with patriarchy.

Finding: Patriarchy is associated with larger family networks and with more children. Women from larger families of origin tend to support patriarchy.

> Comment: Patriarchy is part of the traditionalist family style and these families also tend to be larger. The more children a woman had in her childhood home, the more likely is her adult home to be patriarchal.

Finding: The direction of authority is a function of the degree of the dependency in the relationship.

> Comment: The more the man's need for a mate, the greater the likelihood of patriarchy. A relatively dependent relationship facilitates matriarchy. Male authority is exerted where the woman is most inexperienced in marital relationships. A woman who has never been married is more likely to accept patriarchal authority. The most matriarchal housholds are those in which the woman has been separated, divorded, or widowed prior to the current relationship. A man in bad health is more likely to be in a patriarchal household. Poor health confines a man to the household roles. Health problems, particularly orthopedic problems, may serve as a device for controlling the environment.

The Relative Social Ranks of the Mates

Finding: To the extent that the household feels a threat, economic or otherwise, the tendency is toward patriarchy. To the extent that the woman is psychologically weak, the tendency is toward patriarchy.

> Comment: Patriarchy is the structural response to instability in the environment. Psychological weakness was measured by a projective figure drawing.

Finding: Where the woman has a higher IQ the tendency is toward matriarchy in the instrumental domain. When he is the more intelligent of the two, the tendency is toward patriarchy. Where both have the same score, authority is most matriarchal.

> Comment: The relation of the mates' attributes is not a root cause of authority structure. Rather, in a setting that tends to support female dominance in instrumental decisions, a man may choose a more competent or equally competent woman. In a patriarchal situation, men marry less competent women. The rules of mate selection function to support the structure of authority.

Finding: A woman from a more educated home than that of her mate tends towards matriarchy in her adult household. A man from a more educated background than that of his mate is thrust toward patriarchy.

> Comment: The relative social ranks may hark back to families of origin. Where the woman's father's occupation was in production, such as manufacturing, the tendency is toward patriarchalism. For the woman as well as the man, increased activity in the world outside the home means increased matriarchy at home. This includes occupational participation.

Finding: For the man, authority is more related to his current orientation to the outside world and involvement in his current family. For the woman, the attitude is more determined by things that happened in her family of origin.

Comment: Men move to matriarchy as they become increasingly interested in the outside world and less interested in the family. Women move to matriarchy if they are so predisposed by their families of origin and only secondarily as a result of their experience in the outside world. Their father's experience is cogent for them.

THE INTERNAL ECONOMIES OF FAMILIES

The Household Budget

Finding: Family expenditure budgets reflect life styles through their choices of goods and services.

Comment: Modernizing and traditional life styles dictate priorities in activities and so shape household expenditure budgets. Traditionally oriented families invest more heavily in items relevant to family and home life while modernizing families spend more for items relating them to the outside world. These consumption patterns persist through successive stages of the family life cycle. Because income does not increase in proportion to family size, larger families live in more crowded quarters, eat more poorly, dress more shabbily and venture less outside the home. The largest families in the study population of welfare and working mothers, those with seven or more children, are all on welfare. The household budget was recorded in the customary categories of food, rent, clothing, entertainment, etc. The categories are arranged according to the division of suppliers of goods and services rather than according to the social arrangement of consumption activities within the household. Therefore, they change in clusters. Expenditures within the household for food, home maintenance, etc. are positively correlated with one another but all, as a cluster, are negatively correlated with expenditures supporting life outside the household, such as transportation, entertainment, etc. Expenditures focused in one or another of these clusters characterize the traditionalist and modernizing women.

The Household Energy Budget

Finding: Household energy consumption increases as technology becomes a more significant part of social activities.

> Comment: Household energy consumption is, here, essentially electrical, given the fact that the data were collected for an early summer month. Gas constitutes a minor part of the commercially purchased energy. The level of consumption, that is, the monthly utility bill, is related to income level, physical characteristics of the residence and the types of appliances it uses. Those items facilittate various social activities. The consumers of energy are the social activities, oriented to energy through physical and technical facilities. Social activities are the true independent variables in predicting energy consumption. The technical factors are the parameters in the equation.

Finding: Household energy consumption increases as familial relations, interactions focused around the home, become more diversified--a social complexity factor.

> Comment: The presence of children and the extensiveness of the kin network are measures of the social complexity of the household. The more roles in the household, a mother, a father, a child, etc., the more opportunities exist for interaction among the incumbents of these roles and between them and other households. Household energy consumption through burning lights, cooking, and home entertaining intensifies as kin come and go. When, as in a matrifocal household, a female carries all the parental tasks, she is more active. The matrifocal household is relatively more energy consuming than a nuclear family would be with the same number of members.

Finding: As the social activities of those occupying family roles become more frequent, household energy consumption increases--an intensity factor.

> Comment: A personality tendency to be active and even aggressive affects the intensity of social activity of individuals. This, in turn, is expressed in greater energy consumption. Thus, households headed by a mother with a relatively more active (than passive, as measured by with a projective test) personality will consume more electrical energy.

Finding: Household energy consumption is decreased to the extent that social discipline is imposed upon the household--a normative factor.

Comment: Energy consumption is reduced when a man, or a woman who assumes male-like roles, is a member of the household. Women raised in a home with a father and women who, in personality, identify with men have households in which less energy is consumed. The effect of a male on energy consumption is related to the commitment of these families to patriarchal authority in which the male is the source of authority and discipline in the home. Matrifocal homes committed to a patriarchal culture lack the role incumbent representing this order and so are relatively higher consumers of household electricity. It is the imposition of organization or order on household activities which is energy reductive. Matriarchalism, if developed in matrifocal homes, would have a similar effect.

Finding: As a female head of household assumes an occupational role, she establishes links to activity outside. Energy consumption moves outside the home. This registers as relatively less energy consumption in the household and relatively more outside.

Comment: As the proportion of small households increases, the society becomes more energy consuming. This is an implication of a finding rather than a direct finding. Our finding is that small households have a higher per capita consumption of energy than large households. A society that at a given level of population multiplies its small households at the expense of large ones will consume more energy in the household sector. The society that multiplies its matrifocal homes relative to complete families will consume a larger quantity of household energy.

Finding: Household energy consumption is traded off for clothing in welfare households.

Comment: An increase in the proportionate allocation of a family budget for energy implies a decrease in certain expenditures and an increase in others. The changes occur, as mentioned above, in clusters of budgetary lines. Household energy consumption is positively associated with expenses for food, belongs to the same cluster, because both reflect an increase of activities within the household. In welfare households, increases in energy costs are associated with reduced expenditure for clothing and recreational activities, elements in another cluster, which take place outside the home.

The Household Transportation Budget

Finding: Budgetary commitment to transportation is proportionately higher for working than for welfare households.

Comment: Transportation is assessed as the amount spent for all forms of travel by all members of the household. Each link between family and other institutions imposes a demand on systems of transportation. Transportation, linking household to educational, health, and religious and political institutions "generates" trips and thereby increases commitment of household budget to transportation. Activities within the household proliferate as the household engages sector after sector of the world without. These engagements have transportation implications.

Finding: Improved transportation systems facilitate those social and cultural forces which increase household income.

Comment: Not having access to transportation restricts access to jobs and to the social settings which lead to jobs. Impoverishment of households results from such a disengagement between household and economy. Ties to the economy develop along with a myriad of other relationships between the household and other social institutions.

CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR POLICY DESIGN

Ways of Thinking About the Problem

Finding: Welfare recipients are an aggregate and not a "community."

Comment: The word "community" suggests people interacting with one another and, perhaps, even acting in concert, concerned with one another and sharing some common goals and values. Legislated eligibility requirements specifying the attributes of the population in terms of low income, minor children, and, often, father absent do not automatically create a "community." Welfare recipients belong to subcommunities which also include working women and are organized around school, residential propinquity or church membership. The few who act in concert around "welfare rights" issues are an incipient welfare community but are not representative of those on the rolls.

Finding: Three types of impoverished people may be distinguished according to the social institutional source of their misfortune: 1) social outcasts, for whom economic success is but one of an array of forms of social participation not easily available to them. Their social banishment is a result of their being placed

outside the regular social stratification system of society; 2) unemployed proletarians, ordinarily employed workers who, because of economic conditions, regional shifts in industry, or technological change, are displaced from the labor force. Their impoverishment is traceable to a mechanism of the social system of production; 3) abandoned dependents. Typically, one or a few members of a family engage in economic activity and distribute their income to children, the elderly, the disabled, who are bound to them. These dependents become visible to society when the family transfer system is interrupted.

> Comment: A good part of the AFDC population consists of outcasts complicated by their being abandoned dependents at the same time. Different policy approaches are needed for each of these groups consistent with the institutional arrangement producing them. The outcasts, largely blacks, are not at the bottom of the stratification system but are outside it. The lowest level would have a role to play in another system. These outcasts are considered socially useless. Program elements designed for unemployed proletarians are applied to outcasts; those designed for job training of men are used for women. Programs treat outcasts as a relatively homogeneous group. They are not a group. They may include migrant workers and ragged women carrying newspapers and sleeping outdoors--as well as our matrifocal families.

Finding: Poverty, manifest in lack of resources, is very often a failure of families to participate in the political and religious as well as the economic life of the society.

> Comment: In an industrial society in which relations of economic exchange dominate daily life, the income aspect is isolated and reified into a definition of poverty. Other societies, consistent with their cultures, abstract other aspects of the phenomenon. Hindu India takes ritual pollution as the salient characteristic, and Medieval Europe reified moral evil and a refusal of salvation into a characterization of the impoverished. Lowered social participation is a general condition. In fact, the separation from other forms of community life makes it quite difficult to participate in economic life.

Finding: The term poverty, used to cover all of these situations becomes less a scientific than an ideological term. Rather than offering a diagnosis of a social

ill, it is a rallying cry to the national conscience, a symbol around which diverse governmental programs serving diverse populations are coordinated and controleed.

Comment: The term rationalizes the remedy. If poverty means lack of resources, the remedy requires the reprovision of resources through income programs. The term poverty organizes the activities of dominant social groups. It is not a banner for the impoverished themselves, as their leadership well knows.

Finding: Manpower policy has begun to develop around slogan terms which weaken its effectiveness.

Comment: Terms such as "welfare communtiy," "economic incentive," "work or welfare," "work versus homemaking," and "manpower" itself fail to correspond to events in the "real" world and so constrict the view of program options. They represent ideas about poverty forged through journalistic diagnoses and political struggles. Researchers and policy makers are responding to these terms as if they organize the empirical data of poverty and manpower. Programs designed on the assumption of community, such as the Community Action Programs, are captured by small groups within the aggregate that may or may not represent a large number of the welfare dependents. The design of work and welfare leads to a policy which indentifies their common theme--income source--and ignores the social and psychological differences between earning and receiving transfer payments. The work versus homemaking contrast suggests the mutual exclusivity of these activities. Many women in the study population not only do both but like both.

Finding: Work versus welfare falsely dichotomizes ways of acquiring resources.

Comment: Work and welfare do not exhaust the means of obtaining resources. In fact, inheritances, intra-familial transfers, pensions, appreciation of securities, interest on loans, entrepreneurial profits, rent, alimony, etc., join work and welfare in an array of sources of income--not to mention gift exchanges, charity, church welfare funds and some illicit forms of income. Not everyone must work, but everyone must belong to a "family" in which someone has an income. Welfare mothers often have earnings, particularly as they approach termination of welfare dependency. Work and welfare are also not attitudinally exclusive. Disapproval of welfare may discourage acceptance of welfare without inducing interest in working.

Finding: Money is overrated as a work incentive.

Comment: Assuming the value of money as a work incentive, the WIN program offers income during training, aims to

upgrade earning capacity and does not deduct all earnings from welfare grants. An improved wage is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a decision to work. The pursuit of profits (an impersonal calculation), as a motive for business activity, cannot be generalized to the pursuit of income as a (psychological) motive for working. Economic motivation to work is undercut by the fact that education beyond early high school years offers but a modest advance in earnings, that wage rates increase little following upgrading, and that earnings are more dependent on the length of time worked than on a change in wage rate.

The meaning of money depends, among other things, on what is done to get it and the purposes for which it is spent. Earnings of welfare mothers are supplementary and are treated as a "windfall" to be expended for unusual consumables. For working mothers, earnings are routine and determine the level of basic expenditure for food and rent. For welfare mothers, money may lose some of its value as a work incentive after consumption needs have been met. For working mothers, money is a vehicle for facilitating social relations outside the home and a way to promote social mobility.

Finding: Work versus homemaking for women may offer a false choice.

Comment: The organization of work, which separates the workplace and work time from home and family time, suggests their mutual exclusivity. The separation does not correspond to innate personality predispositions. Some women prefer to work, others prefer homemaking, others prefer to do both and still others would avoid both in exchange for leisure. The belief that a choice is innate obscures perception of shifts between work and home at different stages of the life cycle or, contemporaneously, on the part of the same person and also obscures the possibility of remunerative work options integrated with the home and home-type services at the workplace.

Finding: Manpower policy needs tailoring for women workers.

Comment: The term "manpower" is, of course, generic and not sex specific. However, manpower policy has been evolved in connection with a male labor force. The concept of an economic incentive and labor force classifications are suited more to the motives and work career of a male than of a female labor force. A significant proportion of women are "dependently employed" (work too few hours or have low wages and are subsidized) or "inactively employed" (temporarily on leave, say, for maternity). Were problems of women considered in program design, child care arrangements and job training and counseling might have been assigned to the same federal and local administrations.

Ways of Thinking About Policies

Finding: All social policies involve the insertion of behavioral norms into a situation structured by other norms. The expectation is that the mixing of these two sets of norms will eventuate in some desired social activity. It is a conceptual error to conceive of the intervention in instrumentalist terms--as if leverage were being applied to a physical body in accord with the laws of mechanics. The image of targeted intervention as a lever of change fails to appreciate that social change cannot be coerced in this manner.

> Comment: Poverty is viewed as a result of sloth, and a change in that behavior is the price of support. Add to this the notion adapted from technical systems that application of a force at a point can move a body, we derive an instrumentalist approach to change and try to induce it by economic coercion and incentives.

Finding: Income, political power and jobs are elements of a needed policy. Under the influence of the instrumental approach, each of these factors tends to be isolated from context. Each is a meaningful form of activity when viewed in the context of the other social relations of the client population.

> Comment: Income is a pervasive point of reference in these programs. It is believed that an adjustment in income will eliminate other manifestations of social differentiation and even contribute to family stability. It is an isolated factor but is reified into a whole characterization of poverty. The meaning of income is a function of the size, age, and sex composition of the family. Grant programs often take these into account. Meaning also varies with the culture of the family, a matter not assessed by most programs.
>
> Power is another point of reference for welfare programs. Community Action Programs were organized around a rhetoric of control. In practice, they persuaded public and private agencies to deliver mandated services, a rather puny substitute for a redistribution for political power, especially when compared with authentic social revolutionary movements of our times.
>
> The labor market is another point of reference for programs. Training programs are designed to enhance employability, equating employability with ability to perform a task, disregarding the array of social-relational and attitudinal elements woven into the fabric of an occupation.

The creation of job opportunities, another approach, may have little impact on the outcasts unless the jobs are mutually reinforcing, contributing to the building of a work community. Further, the distribution of job holders may not change as new jobs may be co-opted by regular proletarians--or by the small mobile segment that has already escaped outcast status.

Final Comment: Instrumental interventions, targeted activities isolating factors of income, power, employment and training are not, in themselves, the problem. The problem is that these instrumental acts cannot be successful in the absence of integrative acts placing them in a context of community and social consciousness. In partial recognition of this, some programs are termed comprehensive. Inevitably, this has been a code word for linking available government programs or agencies responsible for carrying out these programs. Binding isolated program elements cannot recreate a community.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING WIN

Recommendation: WIN program effectiveness may be increased by adapting it to four classes of welfare mothers.

> Comment: Certain WIN program provisions, such as income maintenance, may be applied uniformly to all husbandless welfare and low income working mothers. Eligibility criteria, training procedures and the social services offered by WIN should be adapted to, at least, the four types of AFDC clients discussed in this report—the incompetent, the adjusted traditionalists, the temporary traditionalists and the modernizers. The traditionalists should be aided to enter the traditionalist occupations which would involve less of a cultural contradiction for them. These include domestic work, teaching and nursing. The character of domestic service must be upgraded to that of a semi-skilled and skilled occupation with appropriate labor organization protection. Entry in white and blue collar office and industrial work should be facilitated for the modernizers. WIN counselors should be enabled to identify these four types of clients by developing and validating paper and pencil and interview instruments.

Recommendation: Rehabilitation programs should be developed within the WIN structure and extended to cover all "incompetent" welfare mothers.

> Comment: Vocational, physical and rehabilitation services, already available for the physically and mentally disabled, should be extended to those on AFDC rolls who are "unemployable" because of intellectual incompetence and/or psychopathology. Extramural custodial arrangements may be required for a few. Others would benefit from a community health program with provision for treating and training the mentally retarded. An "outreach" program should be established to locate cases requiring rehabilitation. Children of AFDC households, as well as the heads of those households, should be eligible. Rehabilitation agencies might take the lead here but in cooperation with welfare and employment agency personnel who should also be trained to recognize women in need of these services. Psychological screening instruments should be incorporated in the welfare "intake" process. Employment and training programs should prepare some of these individuals for low skill and routine tasks in the agricultural and industrial, the traditional service and the public service sectors for which WIN already prepares more competent workers. Government subsidized employment, particularly during apprenticeships, is recommended to encourage employers to accept these workers. A home management education program should be offered to improve the quality of the care provided to their children, the techniques and standards of their house care and the efficiency with which they manage their household budgets.

Recommendation: Family service programs are needed for "adjusted traditionalists."

Comment: Adjusted traditionalists should be helped to reestablish economic independence, primarily, by reestablishing complete traditional families. This goal may be pursued by reducing the social isolation of some traditionalist mothers, encouraging them to interact more with neighbors and participate in community institutions such as the schools which their children attend. Advice, funding, and, if necessary, legal aid should be offered to help them maintain residential stability. Wage supplements adjusted to the number of dependent children might be offered the father/husband to enable him to meet his family responsibilities. The husbandless working mother should also enjoy these dependency supplements. Such supplements require financing through a government wage fund. Such a fund might be established under the Social Security Administration.

Recommendation: Work training efforts of WIN should concentrate on "traditionalists in transition to modernization."

Comment: Job service energies are more efficiently expended on those traditionalists in transition to modernization than on adjusted traditionalists. Opportunities for WIN training and placement services as well as child care services should be given on a priority basis for these families. Within the constraints cited below, work requirements should be enforced for this class of welfare dependents. Group counseling should be continuously available to these women to help them cope with the psychological strain which accompanies the cultural change of modernization. Deferments from work training should be granted readily to those temporarily out of the labor force because of their stage in the life cycle. This would release training resources for others. At the same time, work training should remain available on a voluntary basis to upgrade skills and ease their return to work at the appropriate time.

Recommendation: Jobs should be available to "modernizers" and with government subsidy or in public service when required.

Comment: Work opportunities must continue to be or be made available for modernizers. This may involve subsidized employment, government subsidized dependency allowances and work in the public sector. Being highly motivated to work, modernizers' unemployment and welfare dependence is more a problem of the job market than of their attributes. Discrimination is one of the job market problems. Employment opportunities which retard the modernizing process because of their impact on worker culture and personal competencies should be discouraged both for modernizers and for those in transition. Domestic service, for instance,

should be avoided in favor of work in the industrial and commercial sectors. Routine tasks and those of the lone employee at the workbench should be avoided in favor of teamwork.

Recommendation: Successful modernizers should be advertised as elite role models for those in earlier phases of modernizing. Some working mothers are prototypical modernizers and might be displayed through appropriate publicity and honorific citations for their accomplishments.

Comment: An American adaptation of the Stakhanovite concept is worth considering. The cultural setting from which many of these women come is distrustful of the world of work and its rewards. That setting also promotes suspicion of women who leave their homes to work both because they may be exposed to men and because they may neglect child care.

Recommendation: Voluntary deferment from WIN and similar work training programs should be granted nearly automatically in the case of husbandless mothers with four or more children.

Comment: A large family is a prima facie indicator of a traditionalist life style. As stated avove, a special employment program tailored for traditionalist women is indicated. Jobs with flexible working time should be considered here. Opportunities to modernize through work training and job placement, as currently provided in WIN, should remain available.

Recommendation: Retain the policy of "encouraged" work but with careful consideration of job assignment in the light of types of candidates.

Comment: A compulsory work requirement cannot be justified on economic grounds alone. The low productivity and undependability of compulsory labor, which accrue as a cost to the employer, together with the cost of publicly sponsored child care, especially when there are several children, exceed the cost of welfare. The encouragement of work, already part of WIN legislation, should be retained for the salutary effect of appropriate labor on the social and intellectual development of the individual and the encouragement it gives those who are modernizing. The encouragement of work should be part of a general program for increasing female participation in the labor force. The work

as well—albeit not subsidized to the same degree. That these social supports return welfare mothers to economic independence, thus relieving community funds, is not the only argument in their favor. Their contribution to raising the quality of lives is an even stronger argument. This contribution is not class related.

Recommendation: Children above fourteen in supported families should be scheduled for work training and job placement during summers and/or after they terminate regular schooling.

Comment: The effort to stem the intergenerational transmission of poverty should begin with attention to the entire household—not simply to the welfare mother. Consistent with the findings above, vocational training should be associated with academic education for any child able to benefit from it. Holding a job is not simply a matter of learning the skills. It requires the more extensive acculturation of the liberal arts and social studies curricula.

Recommendation: Support cottage industry.

Comment: Cottage industry should be encouraged and subsidized as a way of enabling the traditionalist mother to be economically self-maintaining while monitoring her children. While not competitive with factory production, the economic efficiency of cottage industry should be assessed in the light of its contribution to the development of the worker as well as for the value of the product. Cottage industries should not be limited to traditional handicrafts but should include a range of occupations consistent with the technical arrangements of a home. Possibilities might include a telephone answering service, a small appliance repair shop and beauty shop, among others. The crafts associated with homesteading should play an important role here. This might include, for instance, the plumbing, glazing, and tinsmith trades needed to retrofit homes of the impoverished with flat plate solar collectors as part of an energy conservation program. This craft training should be available to women. Cottage industry in which several neighbors cooperate should be encouraged.

Recommendation: Extend the "voucher" programs to additional people and purposes.

Comment: Vouchers, such as food stamps and housing allowances, which subvent low income working and welfare households should be available, as well, for clothing, the improvement of living conditions and support. This might reduce the tendency of some working families to trade food for clothing and of some welfare

must contribute to the mother's self development as well as to the welfare of society. When work is considered in a broader societal role, self development and societal development are correlative achievements. It is when work is thought of narrowly in terms of its contribution to productivity in the enterprise, that it opens the way for degredation and exploitation of the worker. The work setting should meet the conditions, called for above, which promote modernizing. Domestic service, for instance, does not ordinarily meet this requirement. Where the work is not productive for the employer, subsidized employment should be arranged. Otherwise, a program of encouraged employment would simply move the cost of maintaining this population from the public assistance budget to that of private industry.

Recommendation: The benefits of labor are not limited to welfare mothers and should be extended to middle class and other low income women.

Comment: This is a variant on one of our fundamental recommendations that the fight against poverty cannot be successful if limited to impoverished populations. Two strong special reasons support this recommendation. First, it is neither moral nor politically reasonable to support a different attitude toward work for women according to their socioeconomic status. It is not reasonable to tout motherhood as the highest virtue in suburbia while having a compulsory work role for impoverished women in the center city. Second, work is a contribution to the social and intellectual development of people. This benefit should not be denied middle class women or women in complete families. Such a program, already legislated in part, should be developed in cooperation with the vocational education programs mentioned above, with continued enforcement of equal employment opportunity legislation, with the development of child care services with educational content and with appropriate public education programs about women in the labor force. This solution is not recommended for thoroughly traditionalist women whether impoverished or middle class. The cultural break would be too expensive to the individual suffering it and to the society. Compulsory enforcement of a work requirement against strong cultural resistance can create martyrs and abet social tension--especially if it discriminates by economic level.

Recommendation: Programs in domestic management, consumer education and protection, family planning and family life, and vocational education as well as child care should not be limited to low income matrifocal families.

Comment: These services should be available to low income working mothers and middle income mothers in complete families

families to trade housing for food. The vouchers have been thought of in terms of freedom for the client to select goods and services. These choices have been and should continue to be a matter of negotiation between the client and the WIN staff member. The voucher system allows a selection of vendors within the agreed category. It should be used for maintaining quality vendor service. Food vouchers should be designed to discourage the purchase of uneconomical packaged and processed goods. Low consumption and poor consumption result not only from low income but from foolish expenditure practices. These efforts should not be limited to the welfare and working poor population. The general intent of these "voucher" recommendations is not to reduce basic stipends but to offer in-kind assistance as a means of guiding consumer practices in ways promotive of child welfare. Thus, the voucher program should be viewed as part of a consumer education program.

Recommendation: Consumer education and consumer protection efforts should be built into agency programs to supplement direct subvention of consumption.

Comment: These efforts, too, should not be limited to the welfare population. Learning how to negotiate in the commercial environment for appropriate products, time-payment and interest schedules and banking services, among others, is as important as programs designed to provide income.

Recommendation: Day care should be provided to mothers who want to work even if their occupational status is not high enough to cover the costs. The rationale for day care must be that the program is beneficial to children and that the mother's employment can contribute to her own and her children's cultural growth.

Comment: Institutionally provided day care costs some $2000 per year per child. The government has been rather careful about supervising the health standards and accounting practices but less rigid about the curriculum. The curricular aspects are probably best dealt with by encouraging day care centers located in schools and churches--not simply using their buildings but being educationally involved with their programs.

Recommendation: Federally sponsored child care centers should not be preferred over locally sponsored ones.

Comment: Child care should be promoted under varied managerial arrangements. While federally established centers should be supported, centers managed by private individuals, churches and

other community organizations should not have a lower priority either for subsidy or for publicly assigned utilization (as suggested in some legislative proposals). The same quality standards should be met by all. Local educational authorities should be encouraged to include supervision of child care facilities within their regular school supervision program. The federal government might support this extension of local educational responsibility. Child care arrangements at or near places of work should be encouraged and subsidized. In the case of large industry, child care facilities might be part of an industrial park.

Recommendation: Some adjusted traditionalists might offer their homes as small neighborhood child care centers for the children of working women.

Comment: Foster care for children lacking a decent home environment might be offered in these settings as well. Infant care (servicing ages 1-3) might be offered by some traditionalist mothers in their own homes under the supervision of a visiting nurse. These women and their homes should be certified by local agencies as adequate. This is a form of labor force participation by these women.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AFDC AS WELL AS OTHER POPULATIONS

Labor Force Participation

Recommendation: Employment training, placement services, and job guarantees should be provided for the fathers in intact families as well as for the mothers in broken families.

Comment: The father's stability of employment contributes to marital stability. The greater instability of employment and income among black fathers is the primary cause of the instability of black marriages.

Recommendation: Transfer payments should be offered to intact as well as to broken families.

Comment: Such aid is available to those classified here as the "unemployed proletariat" through unemployment compensation programs. These should be extended to the outcasts who may not only lack jobs but other forms of social participation as well. Public agencies should try to prevent that poverty which causes marital dissolution rather than waiting for marital dissolution to generate the cases.

Recommendation: Public agencies that upgrade the employment and occupational status of the mother in intact families should, at the same time, upgrade the employment and occupational status of the father.

> Comment: The mother's regular employment is not a threat to the father's family position or marital stability unless the father is not regularly employed. More importantly, public policy should be to upgrade the employment and occupational status of heads of intact families--generally fathers, as well as heads of broken families, generally mothers.

Recommendation: In broken families in which the mother's occupational status is low, special efforts should be made to upgrade its status in current programs.

> Comment: The mother's regular employment contributes to the son's educational achievement in all families, intact or broken, if the mother's occupational status is moderate or high. In broken families, most of the adaptations to the family's privation, the mother's regular employment, reliance on child support from the absent father or on financial support from her relatives, and perhaps even reliance on private charity are preferable to a dependence on public welfare in their influence on the son's later achievement. This is an argument for moving from programs which maintain a household at its current economic level to programs designed to "break the cycle of poverty"--as the optimistic slogan of the Johnson era put it.

Recommendation: The Employment and Training Administration should concentrate on facilitating provision of work training by private vendors or by prospective employers rather than on maintaining its own training programs.

> Comment: Effective training programs include those offered by the Armed Forces and certain private employers. Such programs are effective in promoting both short term and long term socioeconomic advantages for their trainees. Being already on the job, they must master the skills to remain on the job, and they will have some job security if they succeed in the programs. The close connection between their training and their careers contributes to their motivation to succeed. The Employment and Training Administration can improve its programs by connecting them with jobs both in the private and public sectors.

Recommendation: It should continue to be a matter of national policy that earnings differentials which correlate only with sex and race should be eliminated.

Comment: An employment and training program cannot be effective, especially in dealing with the problems of the "outcasts," if it is not associated with an economic and civil rights program. At present, the costs of unemployment and underemployment due to discrimination appear in the national budget for income maintenance.

Recommendation: It is not sufficient to increase the skill level of the unemployed recipients. Wider socialization policies should be pursued in order to increase the attractiveness of these recipients to employers.

Comment: To hold a job it is necessary but not sufficient to be able to perform the tasks required. It is also necessary to be committed to the idea of work, disciplined in its performance, able to relate, in some limited way, to fellow employees and supervisors. All of these are the product of a wider educational program than simply skill training. The core of the program should be humanistic--a teaching of the central values of our Western culture. Within this context the technical teaching of skills has its place.

Recommendation: The benefits of education in increasing chances of employment vary with the environment. The effect of education is diminished in a poor economic environment.

Comment: Educational programs should be tailored with long range labor force participation in mind. The principal training need is not that which may be required by an ephemeral market situation. However, within this framework, specific skill training should be adjusted for market conditions. The government may consider a policy for removing workers from the labor market in times of high unemployment. This would reduce labor supply and so improve the bargaining position of labor. Those removed should not be added to the unemployed. The time should be exploited for additional education--upgrading, the learning of new skills, etc. The funds currently being expended for unemployment compensation could easily provide for education at the same time that they subsidize the unemployed.

Recommendation: Government agencies should promote political and other forms of social participation of individuals in low income as well as other urban areas.

Comment: Voting and citizen participation in institutions, including social service agencies, are beneficial not only for the influence they may have on these institutions but for the social experience persons gain in participating.

The failure of the outcasts, as defined in this study, to maintain links to the economy is associated with the lack of links to community life in general. Greater integration into community provides both the culture for job holding and interaction occasions for job finding.

Social and Kinship Networks

Recommendation: Government and training policies should work with the social and familial networks in which men and women are involved.

Comment: These networks provide an efficient and effective system for the distribution of investment of various kinds of resources--money, in-kind resources, information about jobs, etc., including resources provided by public funds. "Snowball" techniques might be used to involve several network members simultaneously in family service, employment and training programs.

Recommendations: Social network oriented programs, if properly structured, can be efficient, effective, politically acceptable and legally valid.

Comment: Political and legal problems must be anticipated. Social network programs might be seen as invasions of the privacy of individuals' families, in particular, and of their social environments, in general. This constitutional problem can be met by making participation in the programs voluntary, establishing them as one option among several. Other legal and political problems may arise. The provision of an option of voluntary selection may not overcome the charge that the programs discriminate by social class. Some network and social participation characteristics vary by class. Provision of equal resources to each person in training or other programs may neutralize charges of discrimination. Effects of the programs may be greater for persons with more supportive networks.

Recommendation: Training programs and other services should be adjusted according to the strength of the kin networks of the candidates.

Comment: Family networks may promote achievement and favorable attitudes toward work. Friendship networks consisting of workers are helpful, but those consisting of past and/or present welfare recipients hinder achievement. Individuals should be treated differently depending on the characteristics of their networks. Families that can be assisted in helping their members may free agency resources to help those without supportive networks.

Recommendation: Government should help a mother maintain positive connections with her network of relatives and friends when considering housing and employment programs.

> Comment: There are strengths in black extended families. This is especially so when they contain persons with occupational skills or contain persons who can provide child care to permit the mother to seek employment or to upgrade her skills through work training. The agency should be careful about arrangements that might disengage individuals from their friendship and kinship networks.

Recommendation: Special efforts should be made to help those whose social networks hinder their socioeconomic development. This might include efforts to reduce the influence of these networks--but such a step should be taken only after careful review.

> Comment: Networks containing past and/or present welfare recipients inhibit achievement and vitiate pro-work attitudes. Men selected for government financed training may well have such welfare networks. Men and women with welfare networks need to be compensated for the discouraging effect of their social environments.

Recommendation: Individuals with no networks at all should receive special services which help them find and develop networks.

> Comment: Small-scale programs on the model of Civilian Conservation Corps might be established, not as the general method of upgrading occupations and other skills but as part of a special effort to support individuals with no reliable networks. Furthermore, to enable children to develop networks, the government may want to consider support of foster care, adoption, and small group home programs. Agencies should continue to examine the problem of institutionalization of children who are delinquent, emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, or developmentally disabled. Agencies should also examine the optimal forms of care in non-institutional family-like settings.

Maintenance of Complete Families

Recommendation: Generally, from the perspective of the economy, adolescent marriage and childbearing should be discouraged, but in families, or serious relationships that are formed, their stability should be safeguarded.

> Comment: An important means to this end is a guarantee of regular employment. Social services may be used supplementarily to preserve

marital and family stability. Premarital childbearing should be placed more within the conscious voluntary control of youth through the provision of sex education for adolescent males as well as females.

Recommendation: Training and welfare programs should include efforts to facilitate family planning among adolescent couples.

Comment: Early parenthood depresses men's and women's socio-economic positions. Programs for adolescents should, where feasible, operate through the public schools, among other organizations, to maximize their impact.

Recommendation: Establish a WIN program focusing on the stabilizing of serious adolescent relationships.

Comment: This program should combine counseling and program management expertise on young marriages and young motherhood. Components of the program should deal with marital-relational problems, such as those involving adultery and sexual adjustment, and with psychological stress reactions, such as those involving drugs and alcohol. The program should emphasize youth employment training for the males.

Recommendation: Employment and occupational status of the young fathers should be upgraded where indicated before the marriage fails.

Comment: Employment is a key to the stability of young families. No father should be considered irrelevant to the family's stability unless he is grossly unwilling to contribute to his family.

Household Budgets

Energy

Recommendation: Job training planners should take account of employment impacts of future energy "shortfalls."

Comment: Occupational projections used as a basis for job training and job counseling should take into account the employment impacts of future energy "shortfalls." Analysis of the effects of energy allocation and price changes on jobs in the winter of 1973-74 would be a good base for such planning. The employment implications of an energy shortfall were painfully obvious in the winter of 1973 when a gasoline

shortage became a source of a trucker's strike. Delivery delays caused production cutbacks. Jobs which depended on recreation and travel were in doubt within a few weeks. Job training programs were pressed to shift their curricula away from the energy voracious occupations. Funds for unemployment compensation might well have disappeared.

Recommendation: Employment and welfare policies should consider social arrangements in the household and in the workplace as they affect energy consumption.

Comment: Energy rationing and energy conservation policy proposals are framed as if the control of energy consumption were a matter of channeling physical commodities. It is, rather, a matter of regulating social activities which implicate energies. The cultural variables of traditionalism and modernizing, as used in this study, are predictive of the use of electircity in the home. The traditionalist head of household consumes more energy at home and relatively less outside the home. Matrifocal families have a higher per capita consumption than complete families--at the same income level. The multiplication of matrifocal households increases the aggregate of energy requirements for households in the community. Since the households here are also impoverished, the aggregate increase is likely to be negated. However, the relatively greater energy costs to individual households increases the difficulty of removing them from poverty.

A contraction in the availability of energy will impose a strain on energy dependent social activities. A policy for managing under these circumstances must begin by specifying the links between social activities and energy.

The economic viability of the low income population is precarious under these conditions both because of a tighter labor market and because increased energy costs are reflected in almost every corner of the "breadbasket." Increased energy costs in the industrial, commercial, and transportation sectors become household energy costs. The impoverished suffer disproportionately from rising costs of energy.

Recommendation: Employment and welfare policy must be developed in tandem with a national energy policy and the appropriate organizational mechanisms established for doing this.

Comment: This might be discussed by an interdepartmental committee between the Departments of Labor and Energy. Since certain energy conservation policies may have a deleterious effect on employment, the interests of the two departments may not always coincide--but there is no escaping the interdependence of their policies.

Transportation

Recommendation: Transportation serving low income areas should receive a special subsidy to enable it to maintain appropriately frequent service with reasonable fares connecting the population with places of employment.

> Comment: Poverty cannot be eliminated by providing transportation. The job supportive social relations must first be established, at least in potency, and then transportation may be provided to facilitate those activities. Transportation policy must take its cue from social development, not the reverse. However, an employment policy may fail if it does not have the appropriate transportation infrastructure.

Recommendation: The Employment and Training Administration should obtain systematic information on the way WIN counselors are handling the problem of placement and training in the light of transportation problems.

> Comment: The transportation infrastructure is subject to government policy control. Yet, much of the thinking of job counselors about placement takes the current transportation system as a given. Additions to the regular report forms might be used to provide the information.

Recommendation: The Employment and Training Administration should sponsor research on the interrelation between residential segregation, residential mobility, and transportation, on the one hand, and employment and income maintenance programs, on the other. The findings should guide legislation and program development.

> Comment: Racially and socioeconomically segregated living arrangements have some positive functions for the development of community feeling and some negative functions for economic mobility of the outcast population. Some negative economic effects of segregation may be balanced by appropriate transportation.

Recommendation: Establish a joint DOL-DOT committee on transportation and employment. It should coordinate transportation and employment planning to assure their mutually reinforceing character.

> Comment: Travel to work is a significant item in the budgets of poor families. Public transportation and industrial plant

van service can go far to help with this problem. The joint committee might also deal with issues of labor relations in the transportation system.

SOME LONG RANGE IDEAS

Recommendation: Select a limited category among the outcasts as a potential focus of efforts to develop community.

Comment: The development of community is the key to the solution of the problem of impoverishment among the social outcasts--just as labor force and economic policy is primary for dealing with the unemployed proletariat and measures which stabilize family relations for dealing with the abandoned dependents. The sense of community rests on participation by households in economic, political, religious, healing, educational, family, etc., activities. The first requirement is this multi-directed participation. The second is that those institutional spheres in which people participate cohere and reinforce one another. The outcome is a feeling of solidarity among the households and among the members of those households. Blacks in northern cities, though a heterogeneous population, may be a good candidate population for this effort at community development. The second step is to select, not an occupation, but an industry as the focus of employment and training efforts. By concentrating on a single industrial sector, a set of linked occupations, which link their incumbents, could be developed. The key term is the search for an "integrative" matrix as a context for the discrete policies suggested above.

This may seem, on the surface, to be a segregationist approach. However, without a firm community structure and a cultural base, we may have cultural dominance but not integration. The government is hampered in an integrative approach. Questions of religion are excluded from the purview of government for constitutional reasons and questions of the family order for reasons of the politics of a pluralistic society. Traditionally, social-structural change has involved the redistribution of power through political revolution, something no government would encourage, or has been achieved through religious prophecy and the charismatic commitment around it. The basic thrust of the civil rights programs is integrative, a move toward increasing the moral consciousness of society with respect to its outcasts. These forms of social action deal with the relationships among members and groups in the society and they deal with culture.

Recommendation: Transportation, perhaps motor transportation, in particular, is a candidate industry.

Comment: This is an industry with significant public investment and public regulation, and one that hungers for the additional investment that employment and training funding would bring it. The occupations within the industry may draw both men and women and include drivers of public transportation, truckers, the operators of public transit, and involve passenger and goods hauling and planning, maintenance operations, and, perhaps also sales and manufacturing. This would support an integrated transportation culture in which mobility is possible. The particular industrial culture can then reach a threshhold in the impoverished community, have a collective effect and contribute to a tradition to be handed down from generation to generation. This concentration in a single sector would give the poor political-economic bargaining power.

Current policies that concentrate on the neighborhood residential community are following a logic similar to that offered here. In that case, the integration is sought across industrial and occupational sectors but around the community of a small residential area.

Recommendation: The government might establish a long range planning office to consider some of these issues.

Comment: That office might be staffed by manpower and welfare professionals and, in addition, by social philosophers, political theorists, and social scientists. These are the forms of scholarship needed to arrive at a fundamental theory of poverty and of ways to ameliorate it consistent with our social values. This office could explore ways of developing a wider interagency authority for program planning. The authority and expertise for planning on poverty and employment and the associated issues detailed in these recommendations is scattered through the federal establishment. Agencies concerned with special problems of women, child and infant care facilities, rehabilitative services, vocational education, domestic management and home economics, and consumer education and protection, as well as employment and training should be considered. A program planning group, concerned with the development of activities specified in these recommendations, should include representatives of these agencies. Responsiblity for implementing the suggested programs should not, however, in the last analysis, be diffused among so many agencies.

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   Sar A. Levitan and Martin Rein

3. The Camden Scene--1970
   Samuel Z. Klausner

4. The WIN Experience
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5. Correlates of Labor Force Participation
   James A. Davis

6. Why Some Husbandless Poor Mothers Choose to Work
   Samuel Z. Klausner

7. Labor Force Participation, Employment Status and Dependency Among Mothers
   Jessie Bernard

8. Consumption Patterns and Life Style
   Samuel Z. Klausner

9. Church in the Life of the Impoverished Matrifocal Family
   Samuel Z. Klausner

10. Illness and the Legitimation of Failure
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2. Achievement and Social Mobility Among Lower Income Men: Socioeconomic and Family Factors, Albert G. Crawford
3. Childhood Families and Work Training: A Note on the Lives of Low Income Men, Rela G. Monson
4. Extended Kin Structure and Occupational Mobility, Albert G. Crawford, Rela G. Monson, and Joseph R. Piasecki

APPENDIX C: NETWORKS OF KIN AND OF FRIENDS

1. Men's and Women's Kinship and Friendship Networks and Social Participation and Their Socioeconomic Careers and Ideologies, Albert G. Crawford

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